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# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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### *Classical Quarterly*

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# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JULY—OCTOBER 1950

## KAFIZIN AND THE CYPRIOT SYLLABARY

THE late Sir George Hill in the first volume of his monumental *History of Cyprus* remarks<sup>1</sup> that the Cypriot syllabary is found in use until the third century B.C. This, it may be noted, is the traditional opinion which for some sixty years has stood the test of time.<sup>2</sup> I read therefore with interest on p. 330 of the same volume, among the *addenda*, that 'pottery with incised inscriptions, discovered in 1939 in an excavation four miles from Nicosia, shows that the syllabary continued to be used as late as the first century B.C.' Sir George Hill in effect is here accepting the claim of Mrs. E. H. Dohan and Professor R. G. Kent, which he has hitherto ignored, that the syllabary survived until 50 B.C. Now this is an important claim, partly because it would add from two to three centuries to the life-span of a script already in possession of a long and reputable lineage;<sup>3</sup> more particularly because, if true, it will convict the ancient Cypriot, admittedly a conservative individual, of a degree of conservatism with which I find it hard to credit even him. That there should still have been men in the hinterland of the island under the governorship of Cicero so little affected by the impact of the whole Hellenistic age that they were prepared to write Greek in a manner so uncouth and preserve, incidentally, certain elements of their old Arcadian tongue, is to my thinking highly improbable. A fresh examination of the evidence on which Mrs. Dohan and Professor Kent based their claim is clearly called for. To such an examination I will add a brief survey of those discoveries of 1939 to which Sir George Hill refers, and a summary account of recent excavation at Kafizin, in anticipation of the fuller report.

In 1926 Mrs. Dohan and Professor Kent published<sup>4</sup> an inscribed bowl and twenty-eight inscribed sherds acquired 'some years previously' by the University Museum of Philadelphia. These were said to have been found 'at Tremithus'. On the outside of the bowl, incised I may say before firing, we have this remarkable inscription:<sup>5</sup>

Νύμφη τῇ (sic) ἐν τῷ στρογγύλῳ Ὀνησαγόρας Φιλονίου | ὁ δεκατηφόρος ἐμὴ καὶ ἄλλα  
πολλὰ τάδε ἐ<ὕ>χάριστα· ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

<sup>1</sup> *A History of Cyprus* (1940), p. 52. A preliminary discussion of Kafizin may be found in the *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1937/1939* (1949), pp. 126 ff. Excavation and the valuable criticism of Dr. M. N. Tod have, between them, invalidated much of what I said there.

<sup>2</sup> Thus R. Meister, *Gr. Dial.* ii (1889), p. 193, considered that dialect and syllabary became extinct at the outset of the Ptolemaic period. O. Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* i (1890), p. 42, is more cautious: 'das Jahr 300 v. Chr. ist jedenfalls eine viel zu hohe Grenze'. J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection* (1912), p. 301, shares this diffidence, suggesting a survival at a 'few great Sanctuaries'. On coins, the latest date is given by Hill as 312–306 B.C.: *B.M. Coins, Cyprus* (1904), cxiii; *History of Cyprus*, i, p. 143. Cf. also W. Larfeld, *Gr. Epig.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> On the relation of syllabary to Cretan Linear A and B, cf. especially S. Casson, *Ancient Cyprus*

(1937), pp. 72 ff. A more recent and more critical estimate is that of A. E. Kober, *A.J.A.* lii (1948), 99 ff. Miss Kober's reluctance to see in the classical syllabary a key to the Cypro-Minoan script and, *a fortiori*, to the scripts of the Aegean is justified by the non-existence of a syllabic palaeography. Deecke's famous table of signs in *S.G.D.I.* is based, not on a chronological, but on a geographical basis.

<sup>4</sup> *A.J.A.* xxx (1926), pp. 249 ff.; P. Roussel, *R.E.G.* xxxix (1926), p. 285; M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.* xlvii (1927), p. 213; *S.E.G.* vi (1932), 838–40; H. Kasten, *Burs. Jahresh.* cclxi (1938), p. 136. Cf. also *Arch. Pap.* xliii. 1 (1938), p. 15<sup>1</sup>; *J.E.A.* xxvi (1940), p. 61<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> This text of the two inscriptions on the bowl I give from my own reading of the editors' photographs, *A.J.A.*, l.c., pp. 250–1. The editors are at fault in ascribing the lacuna to the 'outer' inscription, and in reading δεκατηφόρος instead of δεκατηφόρος in the 'inner'.

And on the inside it is repeated thus:

Νύμφη τῇ ἐν τ[δι στρό]φιγγι Ὀνησαγόρας Φιλονίου ΚΟΥΡΕΥΣ ὁ δηκατηφόρος ἐμὴ τη  
καὶ ἄλλα πολλά· | ἀγαθῇ τύχη

Of the sherds, thirteen have portions of what is essentially the above inscription.<sup>1</sup> For the rest, the editors claim that six are distinct;<sup>2</sup> and nine they find to be syllabic.<sup>3</sup> These last were studied by Professor Kent, who concluded, after repeatedly extracting the names *Onesagoras* and *Philounios*, that no less than seven of them deal with the same inscription as the bowl. This group of texts, syllabic and alphabetic alike, the editors argue, are therefore contemporaneous; and it merely remains to date them. Here Mrs. Dohan hastens to the rescue. On the strength of some cursive letter-forms and in particular the *mu*, together with the confusion of *epsilon* and *eta*, she proceeds to date the alphabetic documents to the middle of the first century B.C. And on this slender foundation rests the whole case for the survival of the syllabary into the Roman period.

There can be no quarrel with the contention that alphabet and syllabary are in these documents contemporaneous, although Professor Kent's rendering of the latter is in nearly every case questionable.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, one of the Philadelphia sherds, by juxtaposing them, effectively silences all argument: beneath the syllabic signs the tops of four alphabetic letters appear, cut like the signs above them into the wet clay; and from these [Ὀνησαγόρας Φιλου]νίου can be restored with confidence.<sup>5</sup> But the second premiss is, I believe, untenable. Dating by letter-forms without the support of comparative material, geographically and chronologically of the same general context, is a precarious game; and it is especially so with ceramic inscriptions. Such, however, is not our case here, *pace* Mrs. Dohan: Alexandria can show a well-known series of third-century urns inscribed in cursive characters;<sup>6</sup> and Cyprus itself possessed, throughout much of this same century, a similar style of lettering, particularly common (it would seem) on the Central Plain, found alike on pottery, metal, and stone, and used especially in religious and funerary inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> As for the confusion of *epsilon* with *eta*, and for that matter of *omikron* with *omega*, this, I take it, was simply

<sup>1</sup> These thirteen fragments, illustrated on p. 253, are poorly rendered on pp. 250, 251. Many broken letters are disregarded. For example, No. 5 should read Ὀνησα[γόρας] and not Ὀνησα- [γόρας]. In No. 4, for ἀγαθῇ τύχη read ἀγαθὲ τύχ[ε]; in No. 17, for Ὀνησα[γόρας] read Ὀνησα- [γόρας]; in No. 18, for ἀγαθῇ[ι] τύχ[η] read ἀγαθὲ τύχ[ε].

<sup>2</sup> These are Nos. 3, 10, 11, 13, 14, and 19. The last we shall find to be a date. In Nos. 3 and 14 we may recognize an invocation to the Nymph as Ἀδελφή.

<sup>3</sup> But of the nine, two are not syllabic. No. 5 is a date. Of No. 6 Professor Kent says, 'one line of six characters, that at the left fragmentary'. He finds that the *O* is 'the ordinary Greek letter' and proceeds to read:

SA· ne· o· ki· ro· to· =

- σ[τρό(φ)ι(γ)γι] Ὀνησα[γόρας]

The inscription is in fact alphabetic, with *upsilon* and *kappa*, *omikron*, and *upsilon* written in ligature. The correct reading is - Φιλου]νίου Κουρ[εύς] (rather than the -]δρου κουρ[εύς] which I previously offered). I may add that there is a

further instance of a ligatured inscription among the unpublished texts.

<sup>4</sup> For Nos. 5 and 6 of his 'syllabic' inscriptions I refer to the preceding note. No. 7 is too worn for a photograph to be fully legible. No. 8 is correctly rendered Φιλωνί. For the rest we should read: in No. 3, not Φιλωνί[ου] but σ[τρό- φ]ι(γ)γι; in No. 4, not Ὀ[να]νη(σα)γόρα[ς] (sic) but Ὀ[να]δείγ[ος]; in No. 9, not Ὀ[να]νη(σα)γόρας but Ὀναί[γος]. Of 26 signs—I exclude those of No. 7—no less than 14 are misinterpreted.

<sup>5</sup> p. 257, no. 1. The presence of these fragmentary letters is noted by Mrs. Dohan.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *inter alios*, Néroutsos, *R.A.* ix (1887), pp. 290 ff.; Pagenstecher, *A.J.A.* xiii (1909), pp. 387 ff. For the dating, Pomtow, *B. ph. Woch.* 1910, col. 1087 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Arch. Pap.* xiii. i (1938), p. 15, n. 1. A bronze ring, recently discovered at Curium by Dr. B. H. Hill, carries an inscription in cursive letters of (I think) the late third century B.C. The style occurs, though perhaps less freely, in both the second and first centuries. Of frequent occurrence in a private or religious context, it is virtually unknown in public documents.



due to the fact that in the syllabary one sign did duty in each case for both the long and the short vowel. That the potters whom Onesagoras employed were familiar with the syllabary we have already seen. Finally, in the two sherds in which the lettering is not cursive it is typically early Hellenistic—*alpha* and *sigma*, I think, decisively so.<sup>1</sup> These various considerations claim the Philadelphia inscriptions, not for the first, but for the third century B.C.

Clearly, then, the syllabary, with a tenacity which is characteristic, survived, not indeed into Roman, but into early Hellenistic times—there to be employed in the dedications of Onesagoras. It is possible, even without leaving the published sherds, to suggest through this connexion a more exact date for the survival. The editors did not avail themselves of this opportunity. Of their 'syllabic' fragments the first is manifestly to be read  $\text{L}^2$  ( $\xi\tau\omicron\varsigma$ )  $\beta'$ ; of the alphabetic, the nineteenth as certainly  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\epsilon'$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\kappa'$   $\text{L}$ ; the seventeenth very probably [ $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\nu\iota$ ] $\epsilon$ [ $\omicron$ ] $\nu$   $\text{L}$   $\delta'$ .<sup>3</sup> Of these, two are directly connected with Onesagoras. With the exception of the two civic eras known to us, those of Lapethus and Citium,<sup>4</sup> dating in Ptolemaic Cyprus is, so far as I am aware, exclusively regnal. Moreover, in the few instances of these eras which we have, their character is expressly stated. The twenty-fifth,<sup>5</sup> second, and fourth years, since there was no twenty-fifth year of Soter's reign, should in these circumstances refer either to Philadelphus and Euergetes or to Euergetes and Philopator, and should correspond either to 261/0, 246/5, 244/3 or to 223/2, 221/0, 219/18 B.C. respectively. Perhaps the closeness of the later dates may tell in their favour; but it is clear that further evidence is needed.

In 1932 the Cyprus Museum was presented by a Captain Timins of Nicosia with five inscribed sherds of a type similar to the above. Of these one carries both an alphabetic and a syllabic inscription; another the names  $\text{'}\omicron\eta\eta\sigma\alpha[\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma]$  and  $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\nu[\nu\iota\omicron\nu]$ . No information concerning their provenance was given. However, in 1939 Mr. George Anastasiou, a senior attendant of the Cyprus Museum, was generously advised by a

<sup>1</sup> *Sigma* with widely angled *hastae*, *alpha* with unbroken cross-bar are characteristic of the third century: they are not found after the first two decades of the second.

<sup>2</sup> The sign  $\text{L} = \xi\tau\omicron\varsigma$  is used in Cyprus to the exclusion of all others throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. It has been thought to be of Egyptian origin. The earliest instance cited by Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions*, p. 114, is Cypriot but wrongly ascribed to the year 299 B.C.: an inscription of Old Paphos, dated to the 24th year of—I believe—Euergetes I. It should be noted that at Kafizin the horizontal stroke is curved downwards and backwards; and this may militate against the theory that  $\text{L}$  is in origin a truncated *epsilon*.

<sup>3</sup> *A.J.A.*:  $\tau\upsilon\eta\delta$ ? On the photograph I see no convincing trace of *tau*.

<sup>4</sup> A Phoenician inscription from Idalium, *C. I. Sem.* 93; *Cooke N. Sem. Inscr.* 27, is dated by the 31st year of Philadelphus and the 57th of Citium. An interesting statue-base now in the Cyprus Museum, Colonna-Ceccaldi, *R.A.* xxvii (1874), p. 89; *E. Sittig, Φωνή της Κύπρου* 7/25 Feb. 1914, was excavated at Idalium and yet is dated by the 47th year  $\omega\varsigma$  *Κιτιεύς ἀγουνισιν*. The spread of Phoenician influence from Citium across central Cyprus to the north coast at Lapethus

was checked temporarily by Alexander after Issus, and much more radically by Soter in and immediately after 312 B.C. The institution of eras by Citium in 311–310 and by Lapethus in 307 B.C. is generally connected with this emancipation of these cities from Semitic despotism. But Pumiathon, the last king of Citium, was executed in 312 B.C., while at Lapethus an even greater interval elapsed before the era began. Both cities, in short, were somewhat tardy in celebrating their freedom; and this, together with the fact that in each Phoenician cults were maintained, Phoenicians continued to hold civic office, and Phoenician remained an official language, suggests that the explanation is inadequate. Idalium, we may note, is prepared to commemorate her subordination to Citium 47 and (as we shall see) even 90 years after the dissolution of the dominion of that city.

<sup>5</sup> Dating at Kafizin in general follows the normal Cypriot usage. There is, however, one notable anomaly. Where two figures occur in a date, the larger is invariably preceded by the smaller, thus inverting the order which obtains elsewhere in Hellenistic Cyprus. Out of fifteen instances I find one exception only—and that in a Seleucid document, *O.G.I.* 257.

Mr. Michael H. Kattis of Athienou, a retired *τυμβωρύχος* of some notoriety, to investigate the hill Kafizin, some seven miles due north of Dhali, site of the ancient Idalium, and four miles south-east of Nicosia. The slopes of this hill were found to be littered with sherds, inscribed and uninscribed. In the course of two days' digging conducted by the Museum in August 1939, 134 inscribed sherds were collected. This figure was increased by surface finds, made, particularly after rains, during the subsequent ten years. In the summer of 1948 I gave to this new material some three weeks of study, of which the outcome was the formal excavation of Kafizin in June and July of 1949 by Mr. Dikaïos, Curator of the Cyprus Museum, and myself.<sup>1</sup> The archaeological aspect of our work will be treated elsewhere by Mr. Dikaïos; and I will therefore confine myself here to a brief assessment of the 474 inscribed sherds, most of them indeed pitifully fragmentary, now in the Cyprus Museum and awaiting publication. Since a goodly number of these preserves portions of that same dedication of Onesagoras to the Nymph which the Philadelphia bowl has kept for us intact, the question of provenance is finally settled: her sanctuary was not at Tremithus but at Kafizin. Many of the fragments have been fitted together; and others, although they do not fit, can be ascribed with varying degrees of probability to the same pot. In all, the Cyprus Museum now possesses evidence of the dedication to this Nymph of some 310 inscribed vessels and terra-cotta utensils.<sup>2</sup> An analysis of their inscriptions is not without interest:

Syllabic . . . . .	23
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Alphabetic . . . . .	268

In all three categories Onesagoras or his father or some part of what I may perhaps call his formula occurs freely, so that there can be now no hesitation in accepting the synchronism of syllabary and alphabet in Onesagoras' day. It remains to be seen whether the fresh evidence can determine when exactly this may have been. I have noted eighteen dates among the unpublished inscriptions:

- (1) [L] ζκ'.<sup>3</sup>
- (2) [L] δκ'.
- (3) τοῦ ε' καὶ κ' [L] and [τοῦ] ε' καὶ κ' L.
- (4) [τοῦ ε' καὶ] κ' L and [τοῦ ε' καὶ] κ' L and [τοῦ ε' καὶ] κ' L.
- (5) [τῶ πέ(μ)πτω? καὶ ε]ἰκόστω φέρεος and [τῶ πέ(μ)πτω? καὶ ε]ἰκόστω φέρεος.
- (6) [τοῦ] σ' καὶ λ' κ' L.<sup>4</sup>
- (7) L β' (thrice).
- (8) L β' καὶ ρ'.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to the Trustees of the Craven Fund and to the Leverhulme Foundation for their generous support of this venture; and I must thank also the Travel Fund of the University of St. Andrews. Without this help the excavation could never have taken place.

<sup>2</sup> The finds of 1949 still await the expert attention of the Cyprus Museum staff. I do not, however, think that this figure of 310 separate inscriptions can be appreciably reduced.

<sup>3</sup> On a fragment of an amphora which is very much perished. After *kappa*, however, an uncut space, which indicates the end of the inscription and, accordingly, a date. Before *kappa*, a horizontal stroke on a level with the top of the letter: since *epsilon* here is cursive, *gamma* seems inevitable.

<sup>4</sup> This date is puzzling. On the sherd I: either

*zeta*, therefore, or the syllabic *ve*. A year ζκ' cannot, however, fall within the reign of Euergetes; while ζ' would be widely separated from the other dates. If, on the other hand, we have here *ve*, we must suppose that it is substituted for its phonetic equivalent *digamma*, precisely as the sign *se* is written for *sigma* in an inscription from the neighbouring Golgoi: Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, No. 1897. If this be the case, the year 26 will refer to the few months between 18 October 222 B.C. and the death of Euergetes early in February of the following year.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ ρ', though cramped and poorly written, can be read with confidence. For *kappa* the potter may have written *chi*; but the confusion of these two letters is characteristic of Kafizin. Cf. below, p. 101, n. 5.

- (9) L δ'.  
 (10) [τετάρ]τωι φέτει.  
 (11) [L] ε' ?  
 (12) possibly also - ] τοῦ α' [L].

If these regnal years refer to the reigns of Euergetes and Philopator, the whole series will fall between October 225 and October 217.<sup>1</sup> That this, although perhaps surprising, is in fact the case is proved by No. 8 above. Here the potter has followed his normal practice in giving the regnal year alone; and then struck (at last) by its inadequacy, he has inserted, partly above the line and while the clay was still wet, καὶ ρ'. The year 90 of the era of Citium, which the position of Kafizin permits us to use with confidence, corresponds to 221/20 B.C.; and the second year of Philopator ran from 17 October 221 to 16 October 220 B.C. Despite the omission of any mention of Citium and the absence of the definite article before καὶ ρ', there can, I think, be little room for doubt about this synchronism. No. 9 accordingly comes two years later, and 219/18 B.C. is thus notable as the latest date as yet known to us in the history of the Cypriot Syllabary.

There are certain points in this connexion which call for emphasis. The syllabary, although rarer in these documents than the alphabet, is intelligently used, and has by no means sunk to the repetition of formulae. It is, furthermore, exclusively the vehicle of the Arcado-Cypriot dialect. This dialect, finally, is presented with a freedom from contamination which is remarkable. Thus, on six fragments of an amphora, beneath an alphabetic text which is distinct and shorter, we read:

-- τῷ πέ(μ)πτω? καὶς ἐ[ῖ]κόστω φέτεος Ὀναγόρας [Φιλωνί? ἱερεὺς?] τὰς Νιμύφας (sic) τὰς<ς> ἐπὶ τῷ στρόφι(γ)γι ὁ δε<κα>ταφόρος ἐμὲ ὑναφορεῖ κα' αἶλα [πο(λ)λά --

In this brief but important inscription we may note in particular the retention of *digamma*, the omission of *sigma* between two vowels,<sup>2</sup> such forms as αἶλος = ἄλλος, κα' (κάς) = καί, ὑνά = ἀνά.<sup>3</sup> This, clearly, is a living dialect, almost uncorrupted, spoken by these potters and, doubtless, by Onesagoras also. Indeed, it is the *κοινή* of the alphabetic inscriptions which shows the clearer traces of contamination, in particular in its vocabulary;<sup>4</sup> while the spelling is deeply influenced by the syllabary.<sup>5</sup> It is evident that the dialect and the syllabary, which is its counterpart, still played in the last decades of the third century a prominent role in the daily life of Idalium—and it may well be of other places in central Cyprus. The *κοινή* and the alphabet were reserved, doubtless, for more official occasions, having still a somewhat alien and imperial connotation.<sup>6</sup> As such, it may be that the preference shown them by Onesagoras is not without significance.

<sup>1</sup> Or, allowing for a possible L κ', at the earliest 228 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Meister, *Gr. Dial.* ii, p. 250: the lost *sigma* was doubtless represented in pronunciation by an aspirate. It is of interest to note that the famous Tablet of Idalium, S.G.D.I. 60, although some two and a half centuries earlier, preserves this *sigma*. Being a public document, it shows a greater concern with etymology than with pronunciation.

<sup>3</sup> For αἶλος cf. S.G.D.I. 60<sup>14</sup>. Elsewhere in these inscriptions I note: the presence of the definite article with a patronymic, as in δ Φιλωνί: ἐπὶ τῷ στρόφι(γ)γι for the ἐν τῷ στρόφιγγι of the *κοινή*: the formula ἰ(ν) τύχαι. I would add that the syllabary of Kafizin is remarkable for its numerous unique forms. The following

occur repeatedly and are well established: Ψ, ϣ, Ὠ = *pi*; Ν, λ = *rho*; ϣ = *mi*; ϣ = *mu*; ϣ = *ni*. Kafizin demonstrates that the syllabary, even in its final phase, had not become static, and emphasizes the need for a syllabic palaeography.

<sup>4</sup> Thus τῶδε invariably for τοῦτο.

<sup>5</sup> Thus *epsilon* and *eta*, *omikron* and *omega* are used indiscriminately. I note also *omikron* for *omikron upsilon*, *kappa* for *chi*, *theta* for *tau*; the omission of a nasal before *xi*; the failure to render a double consonant. *Iota* occurs freely in place of *epsilon*, once in place of *epsilon iota*.

<sup>6</sup> From early Hellenistic Idalium two inscriptions only are known. Both are alphabetic and both are in some measure public documents: R.A. xxvii (1874), p. 89, No. 1, a large block which carried an *ex-voto* to Apollo of Amyclae;



We must now ask ourselves who this man was. Of twenty-one dated inscriptions, eleven expressly mention either him or his father; three more almost certainly concern him; several others may very well do so. To the whole *corpus* of about 310 texts something like this same proportion applies. The great bulk of the Kafizin inscriptions belong, therefore, to the short period of seven or eight years, when Onesagoras interested himself in the cult of the Nymph. Not one text can be placed with certainty either earlier or later<sup>1</sup>—a remarkable concentration which cannot be without significance; and this we may perhaps best look for in the position which Onesagoras held. In the published inscriptions Onesagoras has been described as *KOYPEYΣ* and *δεκατηφόρος*, but the meaning of these terms is very much debated. To the editors both are priestly titles, connected with the cult; and the former they explain by the Phoenician institution of the temple-barber. To the two published occurrences of the word *KOYPEYΣ* we can now add sixteen; and it is noteworthy that *KOYPEYΣ* always follows immediately upon the patronymic, is never accompanied by the definite article, and shows no uncertainty in its spelling—save in the syllabary, where we find seemingly *KOPOYΣ*. These considerations tell strongly in favour of an ethnic or deme-name.<sup>2</sup> But, if ethnic, it cannot safely be connected with the city of Curium on the south coast towards Paphos, since the ethnic of Curium is *Κουριεύς* and, on coins, *Κυριεύς*. I take it, then, that by *Κουρεύς* the civic status of Onesagoras in Idalion is specified; but beyond this I would not care to go. It is, in any case, clear that he was a Cypriot, since no name could be more typical than his.<sup>3</sup> Philounios, however, we do not meet again. With *δεκατηφόρος*, we are better served by the new inscriptions. The word, I take it, signifies a 'receiver of tithes',<sup>4</sup> and we find:

- (1) -- Ἀνδροκλοῦ δεκατεφόρος [[ὑδρίον]ν τόδε πάρειμι [[καὶ ἄλ]λα πολλὰ.<sup>5</sup>
- (2) -- Ἀνδ[ροκ]λοῦ δ[εκατηφόρος] ὑδρίον τόδε ἐμῇ | καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τιμη[έ]ντα)?
- (3) -- Κουρ[εὺς] ὁ δὲ κ[ατ]ηφόρος -- ]ΛΗC Ἀνδροκλοῦ οἴκου ἐμῇ τε καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ εὐ[χαρί]στα].
- (4) -- Ὀνησα[γόρας] | Φιλον[νίου] | Ἀνδροκ[λοῦ] | δε[κατ]ηφόρος --
- (5) -- Ὀνησαγόρας Φιλον[νίου] Κουρεὺς ἐξ[έ]ξ[ε] Ἀνδροκλοῦ οἴκου ὁ δεκατηφόρος? --
- (6) -- Κουρε[ύς] ἀπ' Ἀνδ[ροκ]λοῦ οἴκου ὁ [δεκατ]ηφόρος --

R.A. xxvii, p. 89, No. 2, a record of the dedication of an *Arsinoeion*. From the more official atmosphere of Old Paphos not a single syllabic inscription of the Hellenistic period is forthcoming. Indeed, it is doubtful if the syllabary survived into the third century in certain of the larger coastal cities. The fact that some sixteen alphabetic texts can be ascribed to the fourth century is proof that the alphabet was becoming fashionable long before it had the sanction of the conqueror.

<sup>1</sup> There is no reason to suspect that any of the 21 'black-slip' vessels dedicated to *Νύμφη Ἀδελφή* are earlier than Onesagoras: none is dated, but on six of them his name occurs.

<sup>2</sup> Roussel, l.c., p. 285, suggested diffidently that *KOYPEYΣ* stands for *KOYPIEYΣ*. In this he is followed by Kasten. And Dr. Tod writes that he believes (as does Sir John Beazley) *Κουρεύς* to be either ethnic or deme-name. In this connexion it is noteworthy that in the dedication from Idalion cited in n. 6, p. 101, we find a *Μνασέας Ἀφητος ΜΕΤΕΙΡΑΣ*; while in S.G.D.I. 60<sup>21</sup> a property in the territory of this city is described as belonging to *Διρείδεμς ὁ Ἀρμανεύς*. Both *Μερεϊπας* and *Ἀρμανεύς* are otherwise un-

known, and are presumably deme-names, derived perhaps from villages within the city territory. The syllabic spelling *KOPOYΣ* is attested by one inscription only: -- Ὀναδ[ι]γόρας *KOPOYΣ* ὁ δεκα[τα]φόρος.

<sup>3</sup> Names formed from the root *ονησι* are characteristically Cypriot, while *-αγορας* is the commonest termination in the *prosopographia* of the island. It is significant that the name Onesagoras occurs twice in the Idalion Tablet, S.G.D.I. 60: as the father of the eponymous magistrate and again as the father of a landowner. (Cf. further the Assyrian lists of the seventh century, for one Onesagoras, king of Lidir-Ledrae.) In the third century we meet it twice in the neighbouring Chytroi: Myres and Richter, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, 5142; Richter, *Ath. Mitt.* ix (1884), p. 135, no. 1. It is clearly typical of the central Mesoria.

<sup>4</sup> *Δεκατηφόρος*, the tithe-receiving, known as a title of Apollo, is found here only as a noun.

<sup>5</sup> Two constructions are confused in this inscription, *πάρειμι* being substituted ungrammatically for *ἐμέ*. We find elsewhere: *ἐγὼ πάρειμι* (sic) καὶ ἄλλα πο[λλ]ά.

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<sup>2</sup> I.G.  
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<sup>4</sup> For  
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I assume that all these concern Onesagoras. In what sense, then, is one who, in the published inscriptions, is simply  $\delta$  δεκατηφόρος now the δεκατηφόρος of Androclos (or Androclos)?<sup>1</sup> And who may this Androclos have been? The name, while not found in the papyri of Hellenistic Egypt, is well known to Cyprus from that last dynast of Amathus who in 313 B.C. dedicated at Delos a crown of gold.<sup>2</sup> Absence of patronymic, ethnic, and position make it clear that here was a person of distinction; and we may conjecture that he was either the οἰκονόμος of Cyprus, an official responsible to the διοικητής of Alexandria for the revenues of the island,<sup>3</sup> or else—and this may seem more likely—a native of wealth who, having purchased the contract for certain taxes,<sup>4</sup> has in Onesagoras either a sub-contractor or an agent for their collection. The second would seem the better alternative, since there is a certain subservience in Onesagoras' tone,<sup>5</sup> and from Nos. 5 and 6 above it would seem that some dedications were made from Androclos' estate.<sup>6</sup> The source of others is similarly specified:

- (1) - ἀπ[ο] τοῦ δηκ[ατισμοῦ] - -
- (2) ἀπὸ τοῦ προσυπάρχοντος δεκατισμοῦ[ν].
- (3) - ἀπὸ τῶ[ι] προσυπάρχου(ν)τι? δεκατι[σμοῦ]
- (4) - ἀπ[ο] τοῦ ἀμφισβητουμ[ένου] δεκατισμοῦ - -
- (5) - στρόφι[γγι] Ὀνησα[γόρας] Φιλονίου ὁ δε[κα]τεφόρος ἀπὸ τοῦ - - δεκατισμοῦ -

All this is appropriate enough: the tithe-collector fulfilling his *ex-voto* out of his tithe of the crop (δεκατισμός?) when his assessment has been disputed (ἀμφισβητούμενον) and is vindicated by the arbitrator (διαιτητής occurs for διαιτητής); or, again, when the return exceeds his estimate. An interesting fragment may give a glimpse of Onesagoras' opponents in some such arbitration: their *ex-voto*, made they tell us before their harvesting began, we can perhaps restore:

[Νύμφηι Ἀδελφῇ] ἀμήσοντες Κ[α]λλιακῆς (sic) [[καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τὸν ἀμφισβετούμενον] [δεκατισμὸν] -

Once only is the nature of a crop specified, when on a syllabic sherd we read:

- - ἀφ' ὁτᾶ<sup>8</sup> (sic) ἀφαίρει τῷ λίνῳ κὰς τῷ σπέρματος [- -

We may be sure, however, that, as in Egypt and throughout her empire, every kind of produce was heavily and elaborately taxed. The fiscal arrangements which the Telmessus decree<sup>9</sup> permit us to reconstruct in part for that Lycian city in the third century B.C. were without doubt closely paralleled in Cyprus—the more so since this island ranked fiscally and economically rather with the Anatolian dependencies,

<sup>1</sup> The name occurs but once in a case other than the genitive, and there its termination is uncertain. If we are correct in restoring Ἀνδροκλή[ν]—lambda is followed by part of an upright—Ἀνδροκλοῦ (Ἀνδροκλέου) will stand for Ἀνδροκλούς.

<sup>2</sup> I.G. xi. 2. 135.

<sup>3</sup> In a Zenon papyrus, P.S.I. 505: τοῦ ἐκ Κύπρου οἰκονόμου, an official not mentioned in the epigraphy of the island. Οἰκονόμοι are to be found in the various Egyptian dominions, subordinate in rank to the local military commander, but answerable either to the διοικητής of Alexandria or, as in Syria, to a local διοικητής. In the second and first centuries B.C. the functions of the οἰκονόμος in Cyprus were assumed by the στρατηγός.

<sup>4</sup> For such contractors at Cos cf. Rostovtzeff, *Hellenistic World*, p. 241; in Judaea, *ibid.*, p. 349.

On the farming of certain taxes in Syria and Palestine cf. C. Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides*, p. 420. According to Josephus, *A.J.* 13. 169, the richest men of Syria assembled in Alexandria as candidates for the contracts of their province.

<sup>5</sup> In an interesting but mutilated inscription we have: ἔδοξεν ἀγαπήσαι Ἀνδροκλή[ν] - - Ὀνεσαγόραι Φιλονίου - -

<sup>6</sup> Cf. in S.G.D.I. 60<sup>5</sup> of Idaliu a gift of lands ἐκ τῶν οἰκῶν τῷ βασιλέφει.

<sup>7</sup> Δεκατισμός, in the sense of tithe or payment of tithe, is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. The word is cited once only by L.S.<sup>9</sup>, from a late author and with the meaning 'formation of decuriae'.

<sup>8</sup> Here the syllabic signs, transliterated, give: a. ῥο. ια. ι|a. ῥα. ι|re. ι. etc. The alternative, ἀπὸ τᾶ, is no more helpful.

<sup>9</sup> O.G.I.S. 55.

Caria, Lycia, Cilicia, than with the Semitic.<sup>1</sup> How far the authority of Onesagoras extended we do not know; but there is a series of inscriptions, as interesting as they are mutilated, which seemingly indicate contributions to the Nymph out of the taxation of certain cities. Tolerably convincing are: *Ἀπὸ τῆς Σολιά[s φορᾶς?]* and *[Ἀπὸ τ]ῆς Σολιά[s φορᾶς?]*, much less satisfactory *[Ἀπὸ] τῆς Λα[πηθίας φορ]ᾶς?* and *[εἰ]μὶ τῆς Χυ[τρίας φορᾶς?]*. The ethnic *Ταμά(σ)σιος*, however, indubitably occurs;<sup>2</sup> and we may have mention both of Idaliu<sup>3</sup> and—far more intriguing—of the mysterious Ledrae: the letters *ΤΟΥΛΕΔΡΙΟΥ* are legible, but their context is uncertain.<sup>4</sup> None of these instances, admittedly, can be directly connected with Onesagoras; but his impact upon the sanctuary is so dominant as to suggest that he was interested in the tithes of Lapethus and of the central and western Mesoria.

We may now return to our original question: why this heavy concentration of inscriptions in so few years, followed and preceded by so little? Two small sculptures of the fifth century and an archaic sherd are all we have to prove an earlier occupation of the site. One or two syllabic inscriptions, which are as yet unintelligible to me, may precede Onesagoras. But that is all. For some reason which is lost to us—Professor H. J. Rose has suggested to me that he may have been *νυμφόληπτος*—Onesagoras looked with especial favour upon the cult of the Nymph. No other sanctuary of this goddess is known in all Cyprus; and so, during these few years of his power and affluence, his goodwill was lavished upon the Nymph *ἐν τῷ στρόφυγι*.<sup>5</sup> Several ingenious interpretations have been offered for this phrase, but they are not convincing. *Στρόφυγις*, which properly signifies 'pivot' or 'axle' or 'turning-point', has variously been taken to mean 'whirlpool' or 'eddy';<sup>6</sup> 'whirlwind' or 'dust-devil';<sup>7</sup> the (hinges of the) city gate, at which a worship of the Nymph is sometimes found.<sup>8</sup> Others, while rejecting these conjectures, have refrained from adding to them.<sup>9</sup> Now *στρόφυγις* is found once, in a scholion to *Iliad* 13. 443, as a variant of *στόρθυγις*, which means 'point' or 'spike', a 'tyne of an antler', a 'tusk of a boar', a 'tongue of land'. One glance at Kafizin, rising like a pyramid from the plain, is sufficient to show that,

<sup>1</sup> Following Heichelheim, Professor Rostovtzeff argues, *Hellenistic World*, p. 332, that Cyprus, as a province where 'city life was undeveloped', was very probably treated in a manner similar to 'those provinces whose cities developed on Oriental lines'. I prefer to group Cyprus with Lycia and Cilicia rather than with the Semitic dependencies. My reasons for so doing I shall detail elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> That Tamassus was at this date a *πόλις* in the full sense is proved by its mention in the Delphic catalogue of *theorodokoi*: *B.C.H.* xlv (1921), p. 4, col. i. This ethnic also occurs in a syllabic inscription, as yet unpublished, of (I think) the early third century. A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 374, observes that there is not sufficient evidence to determine the status of Tamassus under the Ptolemies: this evidence is now available.

<sup>3</sup> On a sherd *]]ΔΑΛΙΑ[*, perhaps to be restored *[ἀπὸ τῆς] Ἰδαλίας[ φορᾶς?]*. For the unusual form of the ethnic, cf. *S.G.D.I.* 60<sup>16</sup>, 26. Throughout the entire fourth century Idaliu was subject to Citium; and it is argued by A. H. M. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 372, that at the outset of the Ptolemaic period it was so thoroughly semitized as to be an integral part of the Citan

republic. The two inscriptions cited above in n. 6, p. 101, do not prove that Idaliu enjoyed full civic status; while the fact that the era of Citium is twice employed may denote subordination. But the present inscriptions show no trace of this Semitic influence.

<sup>4</sup> *Lidir* is mentioned in the Assyrian lists of the seventh century B.C.; a bishop of Ledrae is found in the fourth century of our era. It is assumed that both refer to the same place, and that this is the precursor of the modern Nicosia (Leucosia). If this be so, Ledrae is lost to view for a thousand years.

<sup>5</sup> A close parallel is offered by the cave at Vari, *A.J.A.* vii (1903), p. 263, transformed into a sanctuary of the Nymph by a faithful devotee, Archidemus.

<sup>6</sup> E. H. Dohan, *A.J.A.*, l.c., p. 252: 'an eddying pool in the foothills of Tremithus, fit abode for a nymph'. This view is quoted by *S.E.G.* and by H. Herter in *R.E.* xvii (1936), col. 1, 534.

<sup>7</sup> Such as may be seen on many summer days in the Mesoria: so H. Herter, *R.E.* xvii (1936), col. 1, 538.

<sup>8</sup> Zingerle *ad S.E.G.* and H. Herter, *R.E.* xvii (1936), col. 1, 545, citing from Hesychius *ἐμπόλαι· αἱ νύμφαι*.

<sup>9</sup> So *L.S.*, s.v. *στρόφυγις*.



while it must in all ages have been totally devoid of any natural source of water, no description could be more apt than 'spike' or 'tusk'. This interpretation receives some support from the new inscriptions, among which we find *στροφήγξ* indeed the common form, but *στόρφιγξ* five times and *στόρθιγξ* twice.<sup>1</sup> *Στόρθιγξ*, it would seem, is found in the ancient island dialect in the forms *στροφήγξ*, *στόρφιγξ*, *στόρθιγξ*; and its use as a synonym for a pointed hill is appropriate enough. Under the hard cap of this pointed hill natural caverns have been formed by the erosion of the softer soil. One at least of these was fashioned in antiquity into a grotto for the worship of the Nymph upon the Hill. It faces west; and in and below it was found the vast bulk of these sherds; its floor was extended by means of a retaining wall; where open to the sky, post-holes indicate that it was roofed. To its front we may suppose that a rough altar stood, but of this no trace remains. Within, around the cave itself, there ran a low shelf for the reception of offerings. A rustic sanctuary, clearly, in keeping with the character of the goddess; and here, as elsewhere, maintained by individual rather than civic piety. But the folk who worshipped here, as we have seen, were no mere peasants living in the surrounding fields. Whoever Onesagoras may have been, the various potters whose names we have, who were themselves the authors of several of these dedications, were, I take it, citizens of Idaliurn, in whose territory Kafizin doubtless came.<sup>2</sup> In keeping with this is the fact that the offerings, although simple, are very far from being crude. The pottery for the most part is without ornament, but technically is admirable. As in the well-known cave of the Nymph on Mount Parnes,<sup>3</sup> offerings consisted in great measure of clay vessels—bowls, dishes, amphorae, hydriae, lagynoi, kalikes—together with various utensils and some remarkable composite candelabra. That the Nymph was beneficent we know from the epithet *ἐπήκοος*<sup>4</sup> with which she is twice addressed. That she possessed the powers of healing is suggested by fragmentary plaques, representing seemingly the potter's wheel, with portions of the body—the feet, the male organs—moulded upon them. Her worship, finally, was brought into alinement with the imperial cult of the House of Ptolemy by the addition of the title *Ἀδελφή*: this is freely employed, must be connected with the celebrated sister, Arsinoë Philadelphus, and can hardly precede her deification on her death in 270 B.C.<sup>5</sup> It recalls the *Ἀρσινόη Φιλαδέλφωι Ναυιάδι* of the neighbouring Chytri;<sup>6</sup> reminds us that Idaliurn possessed an *Arsinoëion*, and is in keeping with the widespread devotion to this queen which Cyprus manifested.<sup>7</sup>

I was privileged to have a long discussion with Mr. Kattis on the subject of his excavations at Kafizin. I found him reminiscent and informative and, where I was able to verify his claims, tolerably veracious. With three partners, now retired or defunct, he commenced his nocturnal researches between 1916 and 1918; and pursued these at irregular intervals throughout the twenty years which followed. Mr. Kattis was by no means the first nor, indeed, the most serious depredator. Already in early Roman times Kafizin had become the haunt of shepherds: their fires stain the floors; their broken lamps and cooking-vessels, all uninscribed, were gathered by us in sackfuls; the dung of their beasts, mingled with blown sand, packed the interiors to the roof. They even cut, above and to one side of the Nymph's own cave, a great

<sup>1</sup> *so. to. 10. TI. KI* = *στόρθι(γ)γι?* and *στόρ-θιγγι*: neither instance, therefore, can be considered certain.

<sup>2</sup> The ruins of the ancient Chytri lie some 9 miles to the north-north-east, those of Tamassus twelve to the west-south-west. Idaliurn, therefore, if we exclude Ledrae, is the nearest city.

<sup>3</sup> *Εφημ. Αρχ.* 1905, pp. 99 ff.; 1906, pp. 89 ff.

<sup>4</sup> It occurs twice at Kafizin: *Νύ[μ]φηι Ἐπη-κόω[ι]* and *Νύ[μ]φ[η]ι Ἐπη[κό]ωι Ἀδ[ελ]φήι[?]*. As

the epithet of a nymph it is rare. But cf. *S.E.G.* ii, 692; *B.C.H.* xxi, p. 136, No. 26; Weinreich, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxvii, pp. 16 f.

<sup>5</sup> On this date, W. W. Tarn, *Cl. Rev.* xl (1926), p. 86.

<sup>6</sup> J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, No. 1900.

<sup>7</sup> *Arch. Pap.* xiii. 1 (1938), pp. 28 ff.; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, pp. 184 f.

cistern for the storage of grain or perhaps of the rains that ran from the small, hard cap of the hill. There is a suggestion that this occupation persisted into the Constantinian period. There can be regret, therefore, but no surprise at the mutilated condition of our finds. In these circumstances it is clear that Mr. Kattis's claim to have discovered eighty complete vessels can very safely be reduced to—shall we say—eighty fragments. But of these some were unquestionably of importance.<sup>1</sup> His fancy, he assures me, was particularly taken by three terra-cotta slabs with long inscriptions in the syllabary—and we have now six scraps of just such a slab.<sup>2</sup> It is thus certain that he unearthed much of value; and we may hope that these treasures, now lost and doubtless widely scattered, will some day be at the disposal of scholarship.

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kattis spoke of 'bearded faces' on five of his vessels. This detail cannot have been the product of his imagination, since the existence of such faces—portraying presumably the votary—was established only after excavation.

<sup>2</sup> I need hardly add that Mr. Kattis disposed of his finds to his profit. One plaque, he tells me, with 'five lines of writing in the syllabary', he

sold to a German tourist. Some pieces were smuggled from Cyprus by a Lefkara lace-merchant who is now dead; and from him, I have no doubt, the Philadelphia Museum purchased their acquisitions. Others, again, were sold locally, in Tricomo and Larnaca; but of these, beyond the assertion that some have made their way to France, there is now no trace.

## COLLATIONS OF PLATONIS W

IN *C.Q.* xliii (1949), p. 126, Messrs. Klos and Minio-Paluello write: 'Burnet's and Robin's collations of *W* . . . differ for the text of the *Phaedo* in about 130 readings of a more than orthographical interest. A new inspection of the manuscript has shown that Robin very often corrected Burnet, but added some twenty mistakes.' As this may give a false impression of Burnet as a collator, it will be well to recall Burnet's own statement in *C.Q.* xiv (1920), p. 132: 'He [Wilamowitz] says (p. 333, n. 1) that my collations of *W* are inadequate, and have been shown to be so by Schoene for the *Symposium*, and by Hensel for the *Theaetetus* and *Politicus*. As he refers his readers to my Prefaces (p. 332, n. 3), he has presumably read them, and ought to have known that I never collated *W* at all or even saw it.'

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## A NEW DATE FOR THE BATTLE OF ANDROS? A DISCUSSION

I. THE present paper was read as one of 'Three Notes of Doubt and One of Despair' at the Oxford Philological Society in June 1948. Generally speaking, there is nothing to be said in favour of publishing an article on a text one is admittedly unable to understand. But in this case it has seemed advisable to start a discussion. I am therefore grateful to my friend P. Fraser for having consented to communicate his thoughts on the matter in an appendix to my note. We both hope that other scholars will be able to provide the satisfactory solution that has escaped us. Meanwhile we thank P. Maas, C. H. Roberts, and H. M. Last for their great help.

II. About 265 B.C. Egypt and Carthage ruled the Mediterranean. Sixty years later their sea-power was reduced to insignificance. Taken in its ultimate consequences, the change meant that Rome was free to march west and east and to lay the foundations of what it has become fashionable to call Western Civilization. We know that Carthage lost her sea-power in the First Punic War. Hannibal had to attack Rome by land—and failed. We do not know, to speak properly, when Egypt lost her sea-power. Three battles must have to do with this change: the battles of Cos, Andros, and Ephesos. But neither their absolute nor their relative dates are known; and almost every other detail is missing. Any effort to recover this lost chapter of Hellenistic history is also a contribution to Roman history, *ὅντος γὰρ ἐνὸς ἔργου καὶ θεάματος ἐνὸς τοῦ σύμπαντος, ὑπὲρ οὗ γράφειν ἐπιχειρήκαμεν*.

III. Modern studies on the battle of Andros, if collected, would easily make a volume.<sup>1</sup> Ancient evidence, until recently, has been represented by two short passages:

1. Trog. *Prol.* 27 'Ut Ptolomaeus Adaeum denuo captum interfecerit et Antigonus Andro proelio navali Opronā vicerit.'

2. Plut. *Pel.* 2 Ἀντίγονος ὁ γέρων ὅτε ναυμαχεῖν περὶ Ἄνδρον ἐμελλεν, εἰπόντος τινὸς ὡς πολὺ πλείους αἱ τῶν πολεμίων νῆες εἶεν, ἐμὲ δ' αὐτὸν, ἔφη, πρὸς πόσας ἀντιστήσεις;

The same saying of (2) is repeated in Plutarch, *De se ipso laudando* 545 B and *Apophth. regum* 183 C, but the battle is Cos and Antigonos is ὁ δευτερος (Antigonos Gonatas). Whom Plutarch meant in (2) by Antigonos ὁ γέρων is not *prima facie* clear. It cannot be Antigonos Doson, who died at the age of 42, but it can be either Antigonos Monophthalmos or Antigonos Gonatas.<sup>2</sup>

The king's answer, even if pronounced at Cos, could not have been referred to Andros, if Plutarch had not thought of Andros as a victory for an Antigonos (not necessarily identical with the Antigonos of Cos). Thus, as far as Plutarch is concerned, all that we can legitimately deduce from him is that presumably either Antigonos

<sup>1</sup> Essential bibliography includes: B. G. Niebuhr, *Kleine Schriften*, i. (1828), 297; J. G. Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, iii (1877), 406; G. De Sanctis, *Klio*, ix (1909), 1; W. W. Tarn, *J.H.S.* xxix (1909), 264; id. xxx (1910), 209; W. S. Ferguson, *J.H.S.* xxx (1910), 189; Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (1913), 461; E. Pozzi, 'Le battaglie di Cos e di Andros', *Memorie Accad. Torino*, S. ii, lxiii (1913), 319; K. J. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* iv. 2 (1927), 506; Tarn, *C.A.H.* vii (1928), 862; W. Fellmann, *Antigonos Gonatas*, diss. Würzburg, 1930, 66; E. Bickerman, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xl (1938), 368. The most recent essay known to me is W. Peremans, (*L'Antiquité Classique*, viii (1939), 401), who restates against Bickerman the views expressed in *Rev. Belge de Philol. et d'Hist.* xii (1933), 49.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. i. 239 Schöne=112 Karst. Notice that Ἀντίγονος ὁ γέρων in Plut. *De fortuna Alex.* i. 9, p. 330 E, is almost certainly Gonatas (Tarn, *Antigonos* 251).

Monophthalmos or Antigonos Gonatas won a battle off Andros.<sup>1</sup> If Antigonos was the winner, the mysterious *Oprona* must be the loser. It was C. Müller, I think, who first suggested that *Oprona* stands for *Sophrona*—a man who appears in a fragment of Phylarchos as the governor of Ephesos and the lover of a woman in the confidence of Queen Laodice.<sup>2</sup> This Sophron looks like a servant of the Syrian, not of the Egyptian, crown. But *Oprona* had to be an Egyptian admiral, because it was felt that there was no evidence that any Antigonos fought at sea against any Seleucid at any time in which this battle can reasonably be put. It was therefore concluded that Sophron was a Syrian governor of Ephesos who quarrelled with his masters, surrendered Ephesos to the Ptolemies, passed to their service, became an admiral, and was defeated at Andros.<sup>3</sup> The theory is very ingenious, but, until we come to discuss the point, we should do well to remember that it is no more than a theory.

The worst has not yet come. Trogus, if taken chronologically, implies that the battle happened during the reign of Antigonos Doson. His notice of Andros appears between the death of Ziaelas of Bithynia (c. 230 B.C.) and the death of Antiochos Hierax (226). Beloch always thought that Trogus' authority was enough to date the battle in the time of Antigonos Doson. But he was warned many times that Trogus' *Prologi* cannot be relied upon for strict chronological sequences.<sup>4</sup> They register the death of Jason of Pherae (370) after the battle of Mantinea (362). Obviously Trogus' *Prologi* would not support the view that the battle was fought under Antigonos Monophthalmos, but do not totally discourage the choice of Gonatas. As the *γέρων* of Plutarch makes Doson impossible, we can now part from Trogus with the impression that, all considered, Antigonos Gonatas is the least dangerous choice. It suits Plutarch best, because his confusion between Cos and Andros would be more difficult to explain, if the two battles had been fought by two different kings—and it is the only one that can be applied to both Plutarch and Trogus without undue violence.

To sum up, Plutarch and Trogus taken together suggest that Antigonos Gonatas is likely to have won a naval battle near Andros. The admiral of the conquered fleet may have been in the Egyptian service and may even have been called Sophron; but the sources do not say that he was in the Egyptian service or that he was called Sophron.

IV. A new document has now appeared, a papyrus (no. 6) of the new collection *Papyri Graecae Haunienses*, published by T. Larsen in 1942. The papyrus is entirely concerned with Ptolemaic history of the third century B.C. Notwithstanding its very poor condition, one perceives a certain chronological order. Lines 11 ff. relate a fact almost certainly earlier than 253 B.C. Lines 14 ff. must say something about the expedition of Ptolemy III beyond the Euphrates (245 B.C.). Lines 28 ff. deal with Magas, the unfortunate brother of Ptolemy IV, and almost certainly allude to his murder in the bath (221 B.C.). Any interpretation which disregards the chronological sequence is therefore to be received with some suspicion.

<sup>1</sup> The reading *Antigonum* instead of *Antigonos* in old editions of Trogus is definitely disproved by F. Ruehl, *ap. Pozzi* (quoted in n. 1), p. 352, and is not even mentioned in O. Seel's edition (1935). Unfortunately, Ruehl's statement contains some confused notion about the cod. Ashburnhamensis, formerly Montepessulanus, which prevents us from seeing clearly how the reading *Antigonum* spread. The agreement between Plutarch and Trogus makes it certain that Antigonos carried the day at Andros. We do not know what, if anything, the letter of Aristetas meant in 180: συνέτυχε γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὴν

νίκην ἡμῖν (Ptolemy II) προσπειτωκέναι τῆς πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ναυμαχίας. This is admittedly an annoying piece of evidence, but if it is not a mistake, it must refer to a battle different from Andros. Beloch, iv. 2. 507 dismisses Aristetas with a contempt that betrays some uneasiness. For another interpretation, W. Otto, *Philologus*, lxxxvi (1931), 409.

<sup>2</sup> *F.H.G.* iii. 710; cf. *ibid.* i. 339 (fr. 23) and *F.Gr.H.* 81 F 24.

<sup>3</sup> Beloch, iv. 1. 678 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> De Sanctis, *Klio*, ix. 1; Tarn, *J.H.S.* xxix. 266-7.

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I shall be concerned only with the first thirteen lines of the papyrus. They are separated by a clear interval from ll. 14 ff. As far as I can see, the events told in ll. 10-13 and those told in ll. 14 ff. are different and without any direct connexion with each other.

The papyrus has something of a title. In l. 1 the editor has seen three letters: ι and ο both uncertain, σ apparently certain. In l. 2 we read *ικλησιν Ανδρομαχου*. Line 3 has a mysterious isolated ε—a number. What immediately follows is divided into two columns. Between the two columns three words are written in bigger letters within a circle: *Πτολεμαί<sup>ο</sup> επικλησιν Ανδρομαχου*. This is a repetition of the words, or at least of some of the words, of the title. The editor therefore supplements *Πτολεμαίος* [*ἐπ'*] *ικλησιν Ανδρομάχου* in ll. 1-2. He apparently takes *Πτολεμαίος* as a mistake for *Πτολεμαίου* and thinks that this Ptolemaios Andromachos was the author of the historical epitome contained in the papyrus.

The question whether Ptolemaios Andromachos is the author of the epitome will be discussed later, but some preliminary remarks on this name can be offered immediately. The abbreviated form *Πτολεμαί<sup>ο</sup>* of l. 4 can be read either *Πτολεμαίος* or *Πτολεμαίου*. We are thus faced by two alternatives: either *Πτολεμαίος ἐπικλησιν Ανδρομάχου* or *Πτολεμαίου ἐπικλησιν Ανδρομάχου*. If we read *Πτολεμαίου* in l. 4, l. 1 cannot contain *Πτολεμαίος* as suggested by the editor. But l. 1 contains only one certain letter, and the name of Ptolemaios, for all we know, may have been in the missing part of l. 2. Anything may be suspected in l. 1. Even if the three surviving letters were really *ιος* (which, to judge from a photograph, is not certain), there would be other possibilities, for instance *βίος*: *βίος Πτολεμαίου ἐπικλησιν Ανδρομάχου* is not absurd.

The reading *Πτολεμαίος* cannot be dismissed either at this stage of our research or later. But even now two points can be made in favour of *Πτολεμαίου*:

1. Palaeographically, the partial analogy of the abbreviations in the literary Rylands Papyrus 510 (to which Mr. C. H. Roberts drew my attention) somewhat favours *Πτολεμαίου*.
2. *Πτολεμαίος ἐπικλησιν Ανδρομάχου* would probably mean 'Ptolemaios who is called the son of Andromachos'. A type of surname consisting of the mere name of the father does exist and can be found, for instance, in *B.G.U.* 277 *Χαιρήμων ἐπικαλούμενος ὁ τοῦ Πλεμμεσαῦ* or in *C.I.G.* 4,710 *Ἀπολλώνιος . . . λεγόμενος ὁ τοῦ Ἑρωσφα*. But this type of surname does not seem to be very common. There is some risk in introducing it into a text by conjecture.<sup>1</sup>

V. With these considerations in mind on the relative merits of *Πτολεμαίος ἐπικλησιν Ανδρομάχου* and *Πτολεμαίου ἐπικλησιν Ανδρομάχου*, we pass to the right column, in which the editor reads

4     ουτο[  
          και[  
          κ(αι) δι. . . . .σας ευρα[  
          αιρει κε. . . λιον κ(αι) πολλο[  
          επ'ει κ(αι) ναυμαχησης απ[  
          Ανδρον

*vacat*  
καταστασιασθεις υπο των[  
εν Εφεσω κατεσφαχη θα[  
επιβουλην συστταμενην.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially M. Lambert, *Glotta*, v (1914), 120-1, and R. Calderini, *Aegyptus*, xxi (1941), 246-7. Signorina Calderini gives nine instances out of 2,400 double names in Egypt. The following three instances seem to have passed unnoticed: Lysias, *C. Agor.* (xiii), 19 *Θεόκριτον τὸν*

In ll. 8-9 there are the words *ναυμαχῆσας* and *ἀνδρον*.<sup>1</sup> The missing part of l. 8 is not likely to have contained more than eight or nine syllables. Thus the words *ναυμαχῆσας* and *ἀνδρον* certainly belonged to the same sentence and were separated by not more than two or three words. The last missing word may be *περί*, but we shall not speculate any further. Whatever the missing words, a sea-battle near Andros seems to be mentioned: the two words *ναυμαχῆσας* and *ἀνδρον* support each other to that effect and make less acceptable any other interpretation of *ἀνδρον*. If there is a mention of a sea-battle of Andros it must be the famous battle of Andros. Sea-battles of Andros *non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*.

VI. Lines 11-13 are intelligible, thanks to a parallel passage in Athenaeus.<sup>2</sup> From Athenaeus we know that the man killed in Ephesos is Ptolemaios the son of Ptolemy Philadelphos who rebelled against his father in Ephesos and was soon afterwards killed by his mercenary soldiers. His death can be dated. Ephesos was still under Antiochos Soter after 268,<sup>3</sup> and is likely to have become Ptolemaic during Eumenes' war (c. 262). It would be unsound to put the rebellion before 261. In the rebellion Ptolemaios son of Philadelphos associated with a certain Timarchos who occupied Miletos for some time.<sup>4</sup> Antiochos II of Syria dislodged Timarchos and was greeted as a god by the grateful Milesians.<sup>5</sup> The city was already Seleucid in 253.<sup>6</sup>

As far as our evidence goes, it seems evident that Timarchos survived Ptolemaios son of Philadelphos for some time. The *terminus post quem* for the death of both is c. 261, the lowest *terminus ante quem* is 253, but Ptolemaios must have died before Timarchos. We are now almost inevitably brought to accept the theory that identifies the rebel of Ephesos with the son and co-regent of Ptolemy Philadelphos who disappeared in 259. The name of the co-regent was carefully deleted from the Revenue Papyrus in the year 259. The implication is either death or rebellion.<sup>7</sup> As we know that a son of Philadelphos rebelled in those years, rebellion becomes the natural explanation for the disappearance of the co-regent in 259. We can provisionally take 259 as the date for the rebellion of Ephesos. If so, Ptolemaios' death cannot have happened much later than 259, 253 remaining the lowest possible *terminus ante quem*.<sup>8</sup>

τοῦ Ἐλαφροστίκτου καλούμενον (καλουμένου is modern conjecture); *Pap. Oxyrh.* 43 Νεμεσίων Ἐπικλῆν (read ἐπικλῆν) Πανερβέως, if Πανερβέως is a genitive; *Pap. Oxyrh.* 2,222 Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸς ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς κατὰ πατέρα.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. C. H. Roberts, who checked the photographs of the papyrus with me, inclines to query the reading κε. λιον of l. 7. Καῦνον would make good sense, if possible. But see below—Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. xiii. 593a Πτολεμαῖος τε ὁ τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διέπων φρουρὰν, υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως, Εἰρήνην εἶχε τὴν ἑταίραν, ἥτις ὑπὸ Θρακῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐπιβουλευομένου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ καταφυγόντος εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν συγκατέφυγεν καὶ ἀποκτενέοντων αὐτὸν ἐκείνων κτλ. Segre, in the article to be quoted later in the text, suggested the following supplements to lines 11-13 of the papyrus καταστασιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν [Θρακῶν μισθοφόρων] ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κατεσφάγη δαμάζων οὐ δυνήθεις τὴν] ἐπιβουλήν συστημαμένην.

<sup>3</sup> Ditt. *O.G.I.S.* 222. Cf. Beloch, iv. 1. 593; iv<sup>2</sup>. 2. 341. The date of Eumenes' war is certain: cf. Strabo, 13. 624.

<sup>4</sup> *Trog. Prol.* 26 'Ut in Asia filius Ptolomaei

regis socio Timarcho desciverit a patre'.

<sup>5</sup> App. Syr. 65. Cf. Ditt. *O.G.I.S.* 226.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 225 = C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, 1934, no. 18. Cf. *I.G.* xi. 2. 114; 116 (for 255 as a year of peace).

<sup>7</sup> For another suggestion, going back to Mahaffy, see especially A. Pridik, 'Der Mitregent des Königs Ptolemaios II Philadelphos' in *Acta et Comment. Univ. Dorpatensis*, v (1924), 32, restated in *Klio*, xxv (1932), 72. The identification of the co-regent Ptolemaios with Ptolemaios of Telmessos can now be considered disproved. See M. Segre, *Clara Rhodos*, ix (1938), 188, which superseded his earlier statement in *Atti IV Congresso Int. Papir.* 1935 (Milan 1936), 359. Also the identification with the son of King Lysimachos seems now unlikely. But nothing turns on this point here. The question is clearly stated in C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 75. Cf. A. G. Roos, *Mnemos.*, iv, 3 (1950), 63.

<sup>8</sup> I am not utilizing the Miletos inscription published by A. Rehm, *Milet.* i. 3, n. 139 = Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, n. 14, because A. Rostagni, *Poeti Alessandrini* (1916), 374 and

VII. We are consequently faced by the fact that the battle of Andros *seems* to be mentioned before the death of Ptolemaios, the rebel son of Ptolemy Philadelphos. This is a new connexion—a surprising one. The element of surprise is double:

1. The battle of Andros seems to be connected with an Egyptian prince who became a rebel.
2. The battle seems to be mentioned before events that happened not later than 253 and probably shortly after 259.

Of course, nobody can state with any confidence that the words *ναυμαχίας* and *ανδρον* were connected by *περί* or something else to the same effect; nor can anyone be certain that the mention of a sea-battle before the death of Ptolemaios implies a chronological priority. I wish to emphasize again as strongly as I can that appearances may be entirely misleading. But anyone who studies Hellenistic history is now compelled to take into account the new possibilities opened by the papyrus.

Nobody ever thought of the possibility of dating the battle before 253. Nobody ever thought that Ptolemaios son of Philadelphos might have had a share in it—either as a partner of his father fighting against Antigonos or as rebel fighting with Antigonos against Philadelphos. Droysen put the battle about 243, Beloch about 227, Tarn in 246–5, Ferguson about 242. But it must be remembered that in 1938 E. Bickerman was not afraid of saying that we did not know either the date of the battle or the name of Antigonos' opponent.<sup>1</sup>

This is the most important gain from the papyrus. It makes us think that the battle of Andros *may* after all have happened before 253 B.C. and raises the question whether the battle is to be connected with the rebellion of Ptolemaios against his father. Ptolemaios needed allies for his rebellion, and Antigonos Gonatas was the natural ally.

The certain proof that Antigonos (Gonatas) did fight at Andros against Egypt is still missing. But the whole of the papyrus is concerned with Egyptian history. It now seems fairly clear that the battle of Andros, if it is mentioned at all in the papyrus, must have affected Egypt.

VIII. So far we have expressed nothing more than a possibility. Taking the chronological order of the papyrus at its face value, we were brought to consider the possibility that the battle of Andros happened earlier than 253, and that Ptolemaios of Ephesos took part in it.

It is now obvious that if it could be proved that Ptolemaios Andromachos, or Andromachou, is identical with Ptolemaios the son of Philadelphos, the possibility so far considered would be transformed into a certainty. If the Ptolemaios mentioned within the circle were identical with the Ptolemaios assumed to be mentioned on the right column beside it, Ptolemaios Andromachos or Andromachou would be not the author of the historical epitome, as the first editor suggested, but the subject of the historical sketch written beside.

Can we prove this vital identification? Two arguments have independently been

Tarn (*J.H.S.* xlvi (1926), 158; *Hermes*, lxxv (1930), 446; *J.H.S.* liii (1933), 62 n. 1) have made a case for the date c. 276–275 against Rehm's date c. 262–261. They persuaded Beloch, iv. 2. 619 and were not entirely refuted by W. Otto, *Philol.* lxxxvi (1931), 400. Yet I must admit that the date c. 262, though not philologically demonstrable, seems to me more probable on general grounds. It would agree with Bickerman's date for the battle of Cos and with what I am here

saying on Ptolemaios the son of Philadelphos.

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xl. 383. I do not see why the *Oprona* who lost the battle of Andros ought to be the Sophron governor of Ephesos. But the governor was an enemy of Laodice—that is a supporter of Berenice (F. Jacoby, *F.Gr.H.* 81 F 24). If he was the admiral who lost the battle of Andros, he might have passed to the service of Syria when Berenice married Antiochos Theos in 252.

produced in favour of this identification by Mario Segre and by Paul Maas. We must examine both.

In a note published in the *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, xix (1942-3) Mario Segre tried to clarify the nature of the papyrus as a whole. He tried to show that it is a genealogical tree of the Ptolemies in which each name is accompanied by a short biography. Ptolemaios Andromachou (this is the reading Segre accepted as true) would be identical with the Ptolemaios killed in Ephesos, and the mysterious isolated  $\epsilon$  of l. 3 would indicate that he was the fifth son of Ptolemy Philadelphos. One of Segre's most impressive arguments is derived from l. 28, where the name *May(as?)* stands isolated in the upper side of a circle. The analogy with the circle including the name of Ptolemaios is not complete, because the other words in the circle of Magas make part of the right column of the papyrus. Yet Segre seems to have some good reason in assuming that in ll. 28 ff. we have a short biography of Magas.

Segre's paper (dated 1 July 1943) was provisional and was to be followed by a complete discussion of each item of the genealogical tree. The second paper was never written (as far as I could ascertain). A few months later he and his family were deported to Germany.

Segre, with whom I discussed the battle of Andros more than twenty years ago, used to think out each detail of his papers with great care. It must therefore be assumed that he had serious reasons for accepting the reading *Πτολεμαῖος ἐπὶ κλησὺν Ἀνδρομάχου*. But these reasons are not available, and it seems to me that if one accepts the reading *Πτολεμαῖος ἐπὶ κλησὺν Ἀνδρομάχου*, the identification with Ptolemaios son of Ptolemy Philadelphos becomes very hard to defend. One needs to suppose either that Ptolemy II adopted the son of Andromachos or that Andromachos adopted the son of Ptolemy or that for other reasons Ptolemy Philadelphos was considered to be the legal, but not the real, father of Ptolemaios: all suppositions that imply a considerable amount of romance. But the identification is seriously defensible if one accepts the reading *Πτολεμαίου ἐπὶ κλησὺν Ἀνδρομάχου*. A simple genitive to indicate the subject-matter of a chapter or paragraph is to be found, for instance, in Theophrastus' *Characters* and in the law of Andania (Ditt.<sup>3</sup> 736).

Granted the reading *Πτολεμαίου*, Segre's theory is likely. My hesitations to make it my own are due to four obvious reasons: (1) the reading *Πτολεμαίου* is not certain; (2) the title of ll. 1-2 and the mysterious  $\epsilon$  of l. 3 are not sufficiently explained in Segre's theory; (3) the biographical character of the various paragraphs of the papyrus, though probable, is not certain to my mind; (4) the name *May(as?)* raises several difficulties.

IX. Paul Maas's identification of Ptolemaios Andromachos with Ptolemaios the son of Philadelphos is founded upon a different reason. He suggested to me—a suggestion which he has since put in print—that 'Andromachos' might mean in this case 'the man who fought at Andros'.<sup>1</sup>

One cannot help being struck by two coincidences. The man is called Ptolemaios just as the man who was killed at Ephesos. The word Andromachos strongly reminds us of the words *ναυμαχῆσας* and *ανδρον* written beside. Maas's suggestion accounts for both coincidences. It would indeed be a case of very bad luck if Andromachos, a *naumachia*, and *ανδρον* were mentioned side by side without being related to each other.

I therefore take Maas's suggestion as both probable in itself and capable of supporting Segre's theory that Ptolemaios Andromachos is the subject of the biographical sketch written on the right column. But, in full agreement with Maas himself, I cannot

<sup>1</sup> Maas mentions his suggestion in the survey on Greek literature, in *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1939-45, p. 2.

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take this suggestion as more than probable, as long as the reading *Πτολεμαῖος* is not definitely disproved, and the other difficulties mentioned above are not removed.

So much we can say. Whether we start from the order of the events in the papyrus or we take into account the possible identification of Ptolemaios Andromachos with Ptolemaios son of Ptolemy Philadelphos, the battle of Andros is dated before 253 B.C. This date is by no means certain. I would not even call it very probable. But it is recommended by different arguments entirely independent of each other. We are therefore entitled to make a further step and to ask ourselves: *supposing* that the battle of Andros did happen before 253, can we put in chronological order the battles of Andros, Cos, and Ephesos?

X. One of these three battles, that of Ephesos, is fairly closely dated. Ephesos was held by Egypt when Ptolemaios rebelled (probably about 259 B.C.). It remained in Ptolemaios' hands until his death. In 253 it was Seleucid again. Now we know from Frontinus 3. 9. 10 that a King Antiochos occupied Ephesos by surprise with the help of the Rhodians. Furthermore, we know from Polyaeus 5. 18 that a naval battle developed off Ephesos between the Rhodians and the Egyptians. It seems very natural to admit that the naval battle off Ephesos and the occupation of Ephesos are two episodes of the same war. It seems also very natural to connect both episodes with the Seleucid reoccupation of Ephesos about 258–256. Indeed, even if we take the story of Polyaeus in isolation, there is in it something to suggest a date in the fifties. The Egyptian fleet was commanded by the Athenian Chremonides: that presupposes the end of the Chremonidean War (261 B.C.). On the other hand, Rhodes could not meet an Egyptian fleet almost in the harbour of Ephesos, if Ephesos was Seleucid, and Syria was neutral: that excludes the years of friendship between Syria and Egypt (252–246). After 246 we are no longer certain that Chremonides was alive.<sup>1</sup> Thus we can take a date about 258–256 as not far from the truth. So much for the battle of Ephesos.

XI. The battle of Cos is a worse proposition. It was *the* great victory of Antigonos over Egypt which he celebrated with splendid coins and with the offering of his flagship to Apollo.<sup>2</sup> As *the* great war between Antigonos and Egypt was the Chremonidean War (ended 261 B.C.), Bikerman is right in saying that, *prima facie*, this is the war for our battle. I can add a cogent argument. Patroclus was the Egyptian commander of the fleet during the Chremonidean War.<sup>3</sup> But Patroclus challenged

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy III honoured Chremonides' brother Glaucon alone in Olympia (Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 462). Teles, who must have written about 240 B.C., takes Chremonides and Glaucon as his contemporaries, but does not necessarily imply that they were both alive: 'Ἰππομέδων ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὁ νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκης καθιστάμενος ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου, Χρεμωνίδης καὶ Γλαύκων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ παρέδρου καὶ σύμβουλοι; (π. φυγῆς ed. Hense<sup>2</sup>, p. 23). I do not utilize the mention of a war between Rhodes and Egypt in the Chronicle of Lindos xxxvii, because Ch. Blinkenberg in his latest edition (*Lindos* ii, *Inscriptions*, 1941, p. 179) insists on the point that the dedication of the Rhodians to Athena Lindia alone (without Zeus Polieus) dates the war before 273 B.C. I confess that I am not convinced, but nothing turns on it. On the Rhodian admiral at Ephesos, see Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 455 and *Lindos*, ii, n. 88. The text of Polyaeus conveys to me, as it did to Beloch, iv.

i. 597, the impression that Ephesos had already been occupied by the Syrians when the battle happened. But others (De Sanctis, ap. Pozzi 347, n. 1; Tarn, *C.A.H.* vii. 713) are of a different opinion. Here again, nothing turns on it. Finally, I confess that I cannot place Ampelius, *Lib. Mem.* 35. 4 'Ptolomeus Soter qui ingenti classe Rhodios vicit'.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. 5. 209 e. On the coins H. Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia*, ii (1935), 187.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. i. 1. 1. Cf. i. 7. 3; i. 35. 1; 3. 6. 5; Hegesandr. ap. Athen. 14. 621 a = F.H.G. iv. 416; *Inscr. Cret.* i. 22 (Olus) A, 35; *Inscr. Cret.* iii. 4 (Itanos), 2–3; *I.G.* xii. 5. 1061. Cf. also Ditt. *O.G.I.S.* 45 = Schwyzler, 201; *S.E.G.* ii. 512. Pausanias calls Patroclus nauarchos. This is challenged by M. Launey, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xlvii (1945), 33, who would call him *strategos*. The point is immaterial, as Patroclus commanded the fleet.

Antigonos by sending him a present of fish and figs which Antigonos interpreted as meaning that he must get command of the sea or starve.<sup>1</sup> Tarn acutely noticed that the story has no point unless Antigonos accepted the challenge and carried the day, but he did not derive the natural consequence. The natural consequence is that Antigonos met Patroclus in a sea-battle during the Chremonidean war and defeated him. The battle cannot be Andros, where the conquered admiral was called something like *Oprona*: it must have been Cos.

If Cos was fought during the Chremonidean War, it must have been fought before 261, but after the occupation of Athens by the Macedonians (263/22). For the news of the battle arrived at Athens when the Macedonians were already masters of the place.<sup>2</sup> The battle must have been fought in 262, where Bickerman put it.

XII. On the other hand, Cos looks also like the first great victory of Antigonos over Egypt. His joy seems to point to a new experience. Furthermore, Patroclus' challenge would be meaningless, if Antigonos had already been once victorious. Finally, it is hard to believe that *Oprona* was a predecessor of Patroclus during this very war. The abundant evidence shows that Patroclus remained long in command. If so, Andros cannot have been fought before Cos. There remain two possibilities: either it was fought after Cos before the end of the Chremonidean War, or it was fought between the rebellion and the death of Ptolemaios the son of Ptolemy Philadelphos. The first alternative implies: (a) Ptolemaios took part in the battle as a subaltern to *Oprona*; (b) *Oprona* was a subaltern officer to Patroclus who happened to be in command during the encounter. The second alternative implies: (a) the rebellion of Ptolemaios son of Ptolemy Philadelphos provoked new hostilities between Egypt and Macedonia (in other words, Ptolemaios asked and got Antigonos' help for this rebellion); (b) Ptolemaios fought against his father for Antigonos; (c) the defeat of Egypt gave ample opportunity to Syria for taking advantage of the situation after Ptolemaios' death.

The second alternative seems to be recommended by the consideration that Ptolemaios must anyway have got the help of Antigonos for his rebellion against Ptolemy Philadelphos. Furthermore, the papyrus, such as it is, seems to be in favour of this alternative. The allusion to the sea-battle comes immediately before Ptolemaios' death. Ptolemaios' rebellion either was not explicitly mentioned (which would be odd) or was mentioned before the battle.

All that I may say is that, *granted* a date before 253 for the battle of Andros, a date about 258 B.C. seems to me slightly more probable than a date about 262–261. A connexion with the rebellion of Ptolemaios seems to me slightly more illuminating than a connexion with the last months of the Chremonidean War.

XIII. The nickname Andromachos, if ever Ptolemaios had it, cannot say anything about the part played by Ptolemaios in the battle of Andros—except that,

<sup>1</sup> Athen. 8. 334 a = *F.H.G.* i, p. 334 (fr. 1) = *F.Gr.H.* 81 F 1. Cf. Tarn, *J.H.S.* liii (1933), 68. Antigonos' words were: ἡ γὰρ θαλαττοκρατεῖν ἡμᾶς φησὶ Πάτροκλος, ἡ τῶν σύκων τρώγειν.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be proved by the famous story about Arcesilaos *ap.* Diog. Laert. 4. 6. 39 μετὰ τε τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ναυμαχίαν πολλῶν προσόντων καὶ ἐπιστολῶν παρακλητικῶν γραφόντων αὐτὸς ἐξώπησεν. The allusion to Cos seems to be fairly evident. For the date of the occupation of Athens, Apollod. fr. 44 (Jacoby, *F.Gr.H.*, n. 244): cf. Beloch, iv. 2. 508. If the story told by Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 676 D refers to the flagship of Cos, the battle may have happened during the Isthmian Games

(Tarn, *C.A.H.* vii. 862 compared with *J.H.S.* xxx (1910), 218), which would confirm the date 262 (Bickerman, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xl. 371). But cf. Beloch, iv. 2. 506, n. 1. The ship mentioned by Paus. i. 29. 1 may well be identical with the flagship of Cos (Tarn, *J.H.S.* xxx. 215) notwithstanding Bickerman's acute remark, p. 379. But it cannot imply (as Tarn argued in 1910) that Andros was earlier than Cos. The inscription of the original dedication (if Pausanias' text can give a clue to it) would have said that the ship had never been conquered (οὐδένα πω νικήσαντα), not that she had been victorious more than once.

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<sup>4</sup> Luc.  
<sup>6</sup> Ibid.  
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<sup>9</sup> Inscr  
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perhaps, he had a part in it. This point seems fairly evident. Names alluding to historical events can roughly be distributed into three categories: (a) names given by parents on birth; (b) official surnames; (c) unofficial nicknames.<sup>1</sup> 'Historical' names given by parents on birth most usually allude to the father's career or political opinions. Philip II of Macedonia called a daughter Thessalonica because of his victory in Thessaly and another daughter Europe because of his ambitions over Europe.<sup>2</sup> But the name Andromachos was obviously not given to Ptolemaios on birth: this first category does not apply to him.

There were in Hellenistic times, as we all know, surnames taken or accepted with due solemnity on a certain occasion. Ptolemy I was called Soter by the Rhodians.<sup>3</sup> Antiochos I was called Kallinikos by his army.<sup>4</sup> Antiochos II was called Theos after the liberation of Miletos.<sup>5</sup> Antiochos III either was called or called himself 'the great' *πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα δράσας*.<sup>6</sup> If Ptolemaios son of Ptolemy Philadelphos got his Andromachos in an official way, we ought to infer that he fought the battle on the winning side: defeats do not seem to be occasions for complimentary surnames.

But the surname was, of course, often unofficial—indeed sometimes jocular. Antiochos 'Hierax cognominatus quia non hominis sed accipitris ritu in alienis eripiendis vitam sectaretur'.<sup>7</sup> The nickname Andromachos for a man who fought at Andros might have a mild double meaning: any Alexandrian would have enjoyed it. It could be given, if it was given, whether Ptolemaios was on the winning or on the losing side, whether he was fighting for Egypt or on the side of Antigonos.<sup>8</sup>

XIV. To sum up, the evidence available at present seems to suggest the following sequence which I give with the utmost reserve:

Battle of Cos, 262 B.C.

Battle of Andros, about 258 B.C.

Battle of Ephesos, about 256 B.C.

If that is near to truth, the Paneia and Soteria founded by Antigonos about 244<sup>9</sup> can no longer be associated with the battle of Andros and require another explanation. They show emphatically that something remarkable happened to Antigonos about that time. If it cannot be Andros, I am not sure that it must be another sea-battle. It may be the recovery of Corinth—a famous and most celebrated event,<sup>10</sup> or it may be some victory in the north which our miserable evidence does not record,<sup>11</sup> or it may be some personal event (recovery from an illness?) to which the old king could have attributed more importance than his distant historians would allow. In the present stage of our knowledge we cannot say that a change in the balance of sea-powers happened between the dedication of Ptolemy Euergetes at Delos in 246 and the dedication of Antigonos in 244.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Breccia, *Il diritto dinastico nelle monarchie dei successori di Alessandro Magno* (1903), 94; E. Bikerman, *Les Institutions des Séleucides* (1938), 236; Hug in art. 'Spitznamen', P.-W. iii A, 1821. To be compared also W. Judeich, 'Politische Namengebung in Athen' in *Epitumbion H. Swoboda*, 1927, 99.

<sup>2</sup> Momigliano, *Riv. Fil. Class.*, N.S. xi (1933), 487 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. i. 8. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Luc. Zeuxis 11.

<sup>5</sup> App. Syr. 65.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. i.

<sup>7</sup> Just. 27. 2. 8.

<sup>8</sup> The practical necessity of distinguishing the Ptolemies by nicknames was obvious.

<sup>9</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, n. 298. On the Delian calendar cf. the literature quoted by W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hell. Age*

(1931), 694. On the margin of error Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, 352, and Bikerman, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xl. 371 n. 7. The Pan coins in Gaebler, *Münzen von Makedonia*, ii. 186-7.

<sup>10</sup> Plut. *Arat.* 17. For the uncertain chronology Tarn, *J.H.S.* xxx. 223 and *Antigonos Gonatas*, 374 (he prefers 247-246 B.C.) and Beloch, iv. 2. 522 (who defends 245 B.C.). F. W. Walbank, *Aratos of Sicyon* (1933), 178 reinforces Beloch's thesis. Cf. also *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 774 (*S.E.G.* iii. 98) with Pritchett-Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (1940), 99; and the commentaries on Plutarch's *Aratos* by A. J. Koster (Leiden, 1937), p. lxiii and by W. H. Porter (Cork, 1937), p. xlv.

<sup>11</sup> W. Kolbe, *G.G.A.* (1916), 456 n. 2.

The long-term consequences are, however, not doubtful. Three consecutive defeats must leave their mark. Egypt lost her paramountcy in the Aegean. The league of the Islanders collapsed, though it did not necessarily disappear.<sup>1</sup> Delos courted Rhodes who now policed the sea.<sup>2</sup> Macedonia intervened in insular affairs more frequently.<sup>3</sup>

But it was not a complete collapse of Egypt and was not accompanied by any spectacular increase in the Macedonian sea-power. What seems characteristic of the second part of the third century is the parallel decline of both the Egyptian and Macedonian sea-powers. In the west, the struggle between Rome and Carthage had a different result: it led to the absolute supremacy of Rome in the western Mediterranean. The First Illyrian War showed what that meant. As Holleaux once said: 'out of the Illyrian question there thus arose for the Romans a Macedonian question'.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The literature is quoted by Rostovtzeff, *Social and Econ. History of the Hellenistic World* (1941), 1348 n. 27 (instead of Guggenmeier read Guggenmos).

<sup>2</sup> F. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*,

39 (I.G. xi. 4. 596).

<sup>3</sup> Tarn, *Antigonos*, 466; id. *J.H.S.* xlv (1924), 140; Pozzi (quoted n. 1), 369; but cf. Bickerman, 380.

<sup>4</sup> *C.A.H.* vii. 840.

## APPENDIX

DR. MOMIGLIANO has been kind enough to invite me to express my opinion about *P. Haun.* i. 6, by way of starting the ball rolling: for the papyrus is clearly important, and will provoke discussion. I intend to limit my remarks to the papyrus itself, and to prosopographical problems arising from it, and not to attempt a new historical synthesis.

First, let me say that I am in full agreement with Momigliano in his very guarded remarks about the nature of the document: it appears, as Segre suggested, to contain brief biographical sketches of members of the Ptolemaic dynasty. I do not think that we can determine from the surviving fragment the degree of agnation to the throne necessary for qualification for inclusion. It may have been confined to monarchs and their direct descendants, or it may have been a more learned work containing remoter degrees.

Secondly, the chronological sequence of the fragment may be a question of cardinal importance. The correct sequence is found in (a) the Ephesian revolt, (b) the trans-Euphratic campaign, (c) the murder of Magas. The period of time between each event is considerable: the Ephesian revolt, c. 258, the Euphrates campaign c. 245, the murder of Magas 221 B.C.; or, in other words, events of three reigns, the first of Philadelphus, the second of Euergetes I, the third of Philopator, are correctly placed. This, certainly, was no difficult feat. Can we infer from this that two events of the life of a single individual are also in chronological order? They may indeed be, but an error in this field is obviously far more probable than one in the larger time-units. I do not feel, then, that, if there is other evidence to show or suggest that the events in ll. 5 ff. in fact succeeded those in ll. 10-14, we must necessarily reject it as chronologically impossible.

So much by way of prelude. I turn now to the text. Momigliano assumes that the reference in l. 9 is to the sea-battle of Andros, while admitting that the exact context in which the battle was mentioned is uncertain. But is a reference to that battle certain? The possibility should at least be pointed out that ἀνδρον is the

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termination of the word *αὐτῶν* (or, logically, of any other of the forty-eight compound adjectives in *-ανδρος* recorded by Buck-Petersen, *Reverse Index*, pp. 318-19). Once this possibility is admitted the sentence takes a different shape.

In l. 9, after *ναυμαχίῃσας* appear the two letters *απ*. This might be almost anything, *ἀπέθανε* alone excluded if the subject of *καταστασιασθεῖς* in l. 10 is the same as that of *ναυμαχίῃσας*, and the two sentences are in chronological order. But a passage of Polybius perhaps points the way: 1. 23. 7: διὸ καὶ τριάκοντα μὲν τὰς πρώτας συμβαλοῦσας ναῦς αὐτάνδρους ἀπέβαλον, σὺν αἷς ἐγένετ' αἰχμάλωτον καὶ τὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πλοῖον: and again, id. 3. 96. 4: πλὴν δύο μὲν αὐτάνδρους ναῦς ἀποβαλόντες, κ.τ.λ. Clearly then our papyrus may be supplemented: *ναυμαχίῃσας ἀπ[έβαλε ναῦν . . . αὐτῶν] ἀνδρὸν vac*. Now the author of this biographical sketch did not go to the trouble of recording the fact that the subject of this passage on one occasion lost his ship and crew, without assigning that comparatively unimportant event to some particular and probably important event. What was that event? The clue perhaps lies in the preceding line, l. 8. Here, after *αἰρεῖ*, are the letters *κ. . νον*. There are, Mr. Roberts assures me, difficulties in the way of reading *κ[αὶ] νον* (v. Momigliano's note 1, p. 110). At all events, the letters probably conceal the name of a place. I suggest, then, that we have here an episode in the capture of C. . nus. If this be correct we need to determine whether the subject of this sentence captured the city for Ptolemy II, or from him, or from somebody else, when in revolt. If we assume for the moment that the subjects of ll. 5 ff. and ll. 11 ff. are one and the same, the very next sentence enlightens us: it begins *καταστασιασθεῖς*. It therefore seems necessary to assume, if we accept the chronological sequence of the text, as it stands, that in ll. 7-9 this person had *not* revolted. In fact, he captured C. . nus for Ptolemy II before his revolt, which, with Momigliano, we may put c. 258 B.C.

This, then, appears a reasonable reconstruction of events based on the readings: *αἰρεῖ κ[. . νον] κ(αὶ) πολλ[—] | επ. ει κ(αὶ) ναυμαχίῃσας ἀπ[έβαλε ναῦν—αὐτῶν] | ἀνδρὸν vac*.

I turn now to the prosopography involved. This leads me to wonder whether ll. 5 ff. and l. 10 ff. may not in fact refer to different individuals. Momigliano has pointed out that the personage named in the circle may either be 'Ptolemy, the son of Andromachus' or 'Ptolemy-Andromachus'. He prefers the latter. It is worth while considering the implications of the former view, which philologically is equally possible.

We happen to know something about a certain Ptolemy, the son of Andromachus. He is named as priest of Alexander and the Theoi Adelphoi in a document dated from May-June 250 B.C., *P.C.Z.* 59289, l. 2: [ἐφ' ἱερέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀνδρ[ομ]άχου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν ἀδελφῶν: in the same year the Canephorus was Bilistiche, probably to be identified with Philadelphus' mistress of that name. This suggests that Ptolemy, the son of Andromachus, may have been connected with the royal family by some unknown relationship. Since he was clearly alive in the summer of 250 B.C. (cf. also the demotic document, *P. Dem. Zen.* 6 b), it is clearly important to establish whether he is the *Πτολεμαῖος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἀνδρομάχου* of our papyrus. If he is, then not only is the chronological sequence of ll. 5-9 and 10-14 endangered, but, more serious, the two sentences cannot refer to the same person, since the death of the one is recounted in events which cannot be brought as low as 250 B.C., while the other was certainly alive at that date. If the identity is accepted, then, we must suppose that the subject of *καταστασιασθεῖς* κ.τ.λ. was in the lost left column (we do not, after all, know the significance of the circle: there is no sign of one for Euergetes I in about l. 14, and therefore each subject may not have been thus picked out). Of course, the identity cannot be proved; but there are one or two facts which point towards it. (a) Both men were exact contemporaries; (b) both men appear in close connexion with the crown; (c) the name Andromachus is rare in Egypt in the third century, while it becomes more common in the second (v. for example, Polyb. 33. 11, 4: *Anth. Pal.* vii. 241, and the

Cypriot inscription published by B. Mitford, *Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Congrès*, pp. 291-2, which records the erection of a statue to his mother by an Andromachos, in the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes. I need hardly say that the reappearance of the name Andromachos in other contexts makes me most unwilling to accept Maas's hypothesis, *Ἀνδρόμαχος* = 'Fighter at Andros'; cf. rather Lysi-machos and similar names). Against the identification, in addition to the chronological interpretation of the papyrus itself, is the appearance of the additional word *ἐπὶ κλησιν*, which more usually refers to a nickname. In respect of Kings cf. Athen. 4b; *ὁ ἡμεδαπὸς βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος, Φιλάδελφος δὲ ἐπὶ κλην, κ.τ.λ.*; Paus. i. 8, 6: *ὀνόματα μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Πτολεμαῖοι σφισιν, ἄλλη δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν ἄλλω*. App., *Syr.* §§ 344 uses both *ἐπώνυμον* and *ἐπὶ κλησιν*: *δεύτερος δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἕτερος . . . ὅτῳ Θεὸς ἐπώνυμον ὑπὸ Μιλησίων γίγνεται πρῶτον . . . (§ 347) ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Θεῷ βασιλεὺς γίγνεται Συρίας Σέλευκος . . . ὃς Καλλίνικος ἐπώνυμον*. Ibid. § 348, however, he has *ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος ὅδε ἐστὶν ὁ μέγας ἐπὶ κλην*, and ibid. § 361 he has *καὶ παῖδες ἦσαν αὐτῇ δύο μὲν ἐκ Δημητρίου, Σέλευκος τε καὶ Ἀντίοχος, ὅτῳ Γρυπὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀντιόχου Ἀντίοχος, ὅτῳ Κυζικηνὸς ἐπώνυμον*.)

On the above lines the papyrus may be interpreted to mean that Ptolemy the son of Andromachos, an agnate to the throne of unknown degree, captured C. .nus for Egypt, and lost his ship and crew in so doing: he subsequently died, so far as we know, a loyal and honoured servant of the crown, at some time after 250 B.C. Another Ptolemy, probably identical with the erased *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ υἱὸς* of the *Revenue Laws*, rebelled in Ephesus c. 258 B.C., and was murdered by Thracian mercenaries.

The field is open for further conjecture.

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## DEMOLIOR AS A PASSIVE

THE *Thesaurus* lists a number of texts where *demolior* appears as a passive. To these should be added Cicero, *Topica* 4. 22: 'Ab efficientibus rebus hoc modo. Omnibus est ius parietem directum ad parietem communem adiungere vel solidum vel fornicatum. Sed qui in pariete communi demoliendo damni infecti promiserit, non debet praestare quod fornix viti fecerit. Non enim eius vitio qui demolitus est damnum factum est, sed eius operis vitio quod ita aedificatum est ut suspendi non posset.'

There is a party wall shared by A and B. A second, arched wall, belonging to A alone, touches it at a right angle. The party wall is to be pulled down, and B promises A to make good any loss A may suffer *aedium loci operisve q.d.a. vitio*.<sup>1</sup> This promise does not render him answerable for a defect shown by the second, arched wall. The argument *ab efficientibus rebus* applies. Loss resulting from the second, arched wall has not been caused *aedium loci operisve q.d.a. vitio*; or in Cicero's words, 'it has been caused not by a defect of that (wall) which has been pulled down, but by a defect of that work which has been built in such a way that it could not stay up'.<sup>2</sup> It makes little difference if we assume, what is just conceivable, that the second, arched wall belongs to B, the promiser. He is responsible only for 'the effects' of the demolition of the party wall concerning which he gave an assurance, not for other structures he owns.

The entire point, however, is lost by treating *demolior* as a deponent, i.e. by translating: 'the damage was not caused by any fault of the man who demolished the party wall'.<sup>3</sup> The man's conduct has nothing to do with the argument *ab efficientibus rebus* which Cicero wishes to illustrate. There are other objections. The antithesis 'eius vitio qui demolitus est—eius operis vitio quod aedificatum est' would be very slipshod if a personal wrongdoing were contrasted with a flaw in a structure. Again, *vitium* is a key term in the province of *damnum infectum*; we have just quoted *aedium loci operisve vitio*, and the jurists have a great deal to say about the exact import of the word. Cicero must have employed it in its technical sense, and he certainly cannot have employed it in so short a sentence once quite untechnically (personal wrongdoing) and once quite technically (flaw in a structure). He means: where a defect of the wall *q.d.a.* is the efficient cause of the loss, B must pay, otherwise he need not.

As it happens, there is preserved a decision by Alfenus Varus, consul in 39 B.C., which he probably took over (*respondit*) from Cicero's friend Servius Sulpicius Rufus, consul in 51; it is also about a promise *damni infecti* with regard to the demolition of a party wall, and it is also based on *ab efficientibus rebus*. (Those lawyers made good use of their rhetorical training. Cicero's *Topica*, it may be recalled, were dedicated to Trebatius.) And it contains the active form *demolio*:<sup>4</sup> 'Cum parietem communem aedificare quis cum vicino vellet, priusquam veterem demoliret damni infecti vicino repro-misit . . . posteaquam paries sublatus esset et habitatores ex vicinis cenaculis emigrassent, vicinus ab eo mercedem quam habitatores non redderent petere vult . . . respondit . . . omne quod detrimenti ex mercede vicinus fecisset praestaturum.' A party wall shared by A and B is to be pulled down, and B promises A compensation for any loss *aedium loci operisve q.d.a. vitio*. They may at this moment only think of stones flying about, a roof caving in and the like. What in fact happens is that, as the work proceeds, A's tenants leave and refuse to go on paying rent. (The law is on their side.)<sup>5</sup> B must indemnify A—the loss is caused *aedium loci operisve q.d.a. vitio*. In

<sup>1</sup> Lenel, *Das Edictum Perpetuum*, 3rd ed., 1927, 551 f.

<sup>2</sup> Maybe a somewhat more technical rendering of *suspendi* is preferable: 'which was built in such a way that it could not be slung in arches—*scil.* without additional support, which has now been demolished'.

<sup>3</sup> Hubbell, *Topica* (Loeb Classical Library), 1949, 395.

<sup>4</sup> *Digest*, 39. 2. 43. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Digest*, 19. 2. 27 pr. (Alfenus Varus), 30 pr. (Alfenus Varus, transmitted by Paul), 35 pr. (Africanus, referring to Servius Sulpicius Rufus), 60 pr. (Labeo, transmitted by Javolenus).

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the case from *Topica*, the argument *ab efficientibus rebus* helps the promiser, in this one it helps the promisee.

Why does Cicero here use *demolior* as a passive? A glance through the *Thesaurus* shows that this was legal slang. It is strikingly frequent in legal works, whether private writings or statutes. Why, then, was it legal slang? It looks as if, in ordinary language, the active form *demolio* with the passive *demolior* had preceded the deponent. The lawyers stuck to the older usage,<sup>1</sup> which presumably occurred in ancient decrees familiar to them.

At any rate, there is no reason whatever for emending passages like that in the *lex Quinctia* of 9 B.C., which says that he who erects a structure interfering with public aqueducts '*demolire damnas esto*'.<sup>2</sup> In this case it seems particularly rash to emend, considering the provision towards the end of the statute: '*quominus . . . maceriae quas curatores aquarum causa cognita ne demolirentur dominis permiserunt . . . maneat, hac lege nihil rogato*'. One could at a pinch translate 'which the superintendents have given the owners permission that they (the owners) need not destroy'; from the strict, grammatical point of view, the accusative *quas* instead of the nominative *quae* actually favours this rendering. (It would mean that the statute uses both *demolio* and *demolior* as active forms. This is by no means impossible. Ulpian says<sup>3</sup> that if a party wall is inadequate, '*utique demolire eum oportuit nec debet, si quid damni . . . attigit, is qui demolitus est teneri . . . quod si fuerit idoneus paries qui demolitus est, in actionem damni infecti venit id quanti interfuit actoris eum parietem stare*': active *demolio*, deponent *demolior*, passive *demolior*.) But it is more natural to see a passive in *demolirentur*,<sup>4</sup> even though the construction may be somewhat loose: 'which the superintendents have given the owners permission that they need not be destroyed'.

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<sup>1</sup> Kalb, *Roms Juristen*, 1890, 40.

sen), 1909, 113, line 15.

<sup>2</sup> The emendation *demoliri* is adopted by  
Bruns, *Fontes*, 7th ed. by Gradenwitz (Momm-

<sup>3</sup> *Digest*, 39. 2. 37.

<sup>4</sup> The *Thesaurus* does so.

## CORRIGENDUM

In the article entitled 'Notes on Orientius' *Commonitorium*. II' by A. Hudson-Williams in the last issue (*C.Q.*, vol. xlv, Nos. 1 and 2, January-April 1950) an error occurred in l. 4 on p. 25. The reading of A is wrongly given as '*fau inuitiis* (\* and dots in darker ink)': it should have been given as '*fau<sup>ε</sup> inuitiis*', etc., the point being that the reading of A before it was tampered with by the later hand represented the true reading, viz. *fauet in uitiiis*.



## NOTES ON THE TRAGIC POETS

Aeschylus, *Septem* 1014

στυγῶν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς θάνατον εἴλετ' ἐν πόλει

THE general sense of this line is, 'Eteocles met his death fighting his country's foes', in contrast to Polynices, who 'aimed at destroying the Cadmean land' (ὡς ὄντ' ἀναστατήρα Καδμείων χθονός, 1020). It is difficult to believe that the line is sound; three words in particular have fallen under suspicion:

(1) *στυγῶν*: 'unimpeachable for action demonstrating hatred' (Tucker). This is quite true, though in the context one might expect a more forcible verb to balance ἀναστατήρα. However, it is the scholium εἴργων δηλονότι that has caused many scholars to doubt the genuineness of *στυγῶν*. Hence the conjecture *στέγων*, against which Paley and Tucker have adduced strong arguments. It is a reasonable, though perhaps not an irresistible conclusion that εἴργων is an explanatory gloss on a less common word having the same meaning. I suggest *σχεθῶν*, in the sense of ἀμύνων, a common use in Homer, e.g. *Od.* 16. 430, κατέρυκε καὶ ἔσχεθεν ἱεμένους, *Iliad* 2. 96, στεφάνη δόρυ οἱ ἔσχεθε. Compare also for the sense εἴργειν τεκούση μητρὶ πολέμιον δόρυ (416), πόλεως ἀπείργειν ζυγόν (471). A common metathesis and the substitution of τ for θ would account for the manuscript reading.

(2) *εἴλετο*: this has been taken to mean (a) 'chose' or 'preferred', the sense of preference being 'that he would rather die than weaken in his feeling towards the public enemy' (Tucker). This is certainly a possible explanation, though in the context it seems somewhat forced; (b) 'met' or 'got' his death (Paley), which gives exactly the required sense, but involves a very questionable use of ἐλέσθαι, for which the Homeric ὕπνου δῶρον ἔλοντο, δόρυ δῶρον ἔλοντο and the like afford no justification.

(3) *ἐν πόλει*: 'is hopelessly feeble and is generally condemned' (Tucker). θάνατον εἴλετ' ἐν πόλει is pronounced by Verrall to be 'a strange and scarcely intelligible expression', whether ἐν πόλει be taken with εἴλετο or with θάνατον. Tucker's εὐ has little probability, while Verrall's ἱλητόν only illustrates his often perverse ingenuity.

If we can find a suitable verb for θάνατον with the ending -εν, we shall have disposed of the troublesome preposition, so that πόλει could be taken with *σχεθῶν*. For such a dative compare δόρυ οἱ ἔσχεθε and εἴργειν τεκούση μητρὶ πολέμιον δόρυ quoted above. I think εἴλετ' ἐν is a corruption of εἴληχεν, the tense of which is very suitable (cf. τέθη-κεν, 1016, and Tucker's note). For this use of λαγχάνειν cf. κύμα Κωκυτοῦ λαχόν (690), λαχόντες αἶδαν (Pindar *Pyth.* v. 96).

The Scholiast's note on 1016, παρὰ τὸ "εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι", seems to me to support Blomfield's ὥσπερ for οὐπερ in 1016 as well as my *σχεθῶν*. Tucker, quoting passages from Tyrtaeus, says οὐπερ means 'in the forefront of battle' (ἐνὶ προμάχοισι); but the point is rather *how* he died than *where* he died, viz. ἀμυνόμενος περὶ πάτρης, or, in what I believe to be Aeschylus' words, *σχεθῶν ἐχθροὺς πόλει*. Even if *στυγῶν* is kept, this argument still holds: the quotation from Homer fits ὥσπερ much better than οὐπερ, for which a quotation from Tyrtaeus would have been more suitable. *σχεθῶν*, however, if read by the Scholiast, would naturally prompt the Homeric quotation, of which Aeschylus' words were a paraphrase.

Euripides, *Ion* 1396 σίγα σὺ· πολλὰ καὶ πάροιθεν οἶσθά μοι

σίγα Dindorf for MSS. *σιγᾶν*. Even so the commentators are hard put to it to find a tolerable meaning for this line. Murray assumes that Ion's sentence is unfinished, an assumption which may remove the difficulty of the tense of οἶσθα, but which seems otherwise improbable. It would be tedious to examine all the unsatisfactory meanings and readings suggested, so I mention only Paley's conjecture, σίγα· πολεμία καὶ

*πάροιθεν ἡσθά μοι*, which seems to me to be the best conjecture and to give a very suitable sense. Ion (for certainly the line does not belong to the Chorus) gruffly bids his mother keep silence; she has already (*πάροιθεν*) shown her hostility (by her attempt on his life). Although the meaning is good, there are two objections to Paley's reading:

- (1) *ἐχθρά*, as Paley admits, is the word we should expect rather than *πολεμία*.
- (2) The emendation *πολεμία* necessitates the omission of *σύ*, which, far from being redundant, as Paley thinks, is very appropriate to Ion's bitter tone (cf. *χώρει σύ*, *Hel.* 1412).

Ion has had enough trouble already because of Creusa, and he wants no more of her interference. He had described her in 1272 as *πῆμα καὶ δυσμενής*. If we read *ἦσθα* for *οἶσθα*, *ΠΗΜΑ* for *ΠΟΛΛΑ*, all difficulties disappear:

*σίγα σύ· πῆμα καὶ πάροιθεν ἡσθά μοι.*

*πολλά* would be an easy corruption in uncials.

Euripides, *Electra* 1058 *ἄρα κλύουσα, μήτερ, εἴτ' ἔρξεις κακῶς*;

Electra has asked her mother for permission to speak her mind freely and Clytemnestra has granted it. Then follows the line given above. *ἄρ' οὖν* is read by Dobree, *ἄρ' εὖ* is suggested by Murray. Nearer to the manuscripts would be

*ἄρ' ἂν κλύουσα, μήτερ, εἴτ' ἔρξαις κακῶς*;

If *κακῶς* is taken both with *κλύουσα* and with *ἔρξαις*, the thought is given more effective expression, preparing us for the *παρρησία* of Electra's speech (cf. especially *κακὴν* 1073, *κακόν* 1075). Compare *Soph. El.* 523-4 *κακῶς δέ σε | λέγω, κακῶς κλύουσα πρὸς σέθεν θαμά*.

Clytemnestra's answer (1059) appears in the manuscripts as *οὐκ ἔστι, τῇ σῇ δ' ἡδὺ προσθήσω φρενί*. Paley seems to be right in saying that the meaning required by the context is, 'No, I will do you no harm, but will indulge your humour'. *ἡδὺ προσθήσω τῇ σῇ φρενί* seems very doubtful Greek, and I think we should read with Weil *προσθέσθαι*, which occurred to me independently during a recent reading of the play (Denniston in his note seems to favour this conjecture). 'It is a pleasure for me to fall in with your purpose.' *προσθέσθαι* is 'to associate oneself with' a person or an opinion, so that *προσθέσθαι τῇ φρενί* would have practically the same meaning as *τῇ φρενί χάριν παρασχεῖν* (*O.C.* 1182-3).

*Orestes* 623-4

*εἰ τοῦμόν ἔχθος ἐναριθμεῖ κῆδός τ' ἐμόν  
μὴ τῷδ' ἀμύνειν φόνον ἐναντίον θεοῖς*

*ἀμύνειν* is taken to be the infin. for imperative, and *ἐναντίον* accus. in apposition to the sentence (Porson puts a comma after *φόνον*). A much more natural construction is obtained if we read *ἀμύνων . . . ἐναντιοῦ*. This correction receives strong support from 534-5, *τοῖσιν θεοῖς | μὴ πρᾶσσ' ἐναντ' ὠφελεῖν τοῦτον θέλων*.

*Orestes* 1148

*μὴ γὰρ οὖν ζῶην ἔτι  
εἰ μὴ 'π' ἐκείνῃ φάσγανον σπάσω μέλαν*

One good manuscript reads *σπασόμεθα*, hence the conjecture *ἦν . . . σπασώμεθα*. The plural, however, is not well suited to Pylades' words, which, as Paley says, are uttered in a tone of great spirit and determination and express his individual resolution (the plurals in 1149-50 include Orestes and Electra). *μέλαν* is found with *ξίφος* in *Hel.* 1675, but its position here has been rightly objected to by Hermann. I suggest *μολών*: 'I would rather die than not go and draw my sword on her.' *μολών* is often used in this way: e.g. *O.C.* 497, 897.

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## ON THE FOUNDATION OF THE ACTIAN GAMES

It has usually been assumed that the Actian Games at Nicopolis were founded in 28 B.C. (cf. Reisch, P.-W. I. i, s.v. 'Aktia'). In *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.*, 1936, pp. 94 ff., J. Gagé argues also for 28 B.C., his principal grounds being as follows: 'Comme Auguste leur conféra en même temps le rang isolympique et que le calcul du temps par Actiades fut admis çà et là à remplacer celui des Olympiades, il est logique de penser que ces deux calculs coïncidaient. Or, la première célébration olympique après Actium est celle de l'an 28 av. J.-C.; c'est donc presque sûrement en 28 que commence en fait la première Actiade.'

This argument will not stand. Firstly, Gagé is mistaken in the meaning he attributes to the term 'isolympic'; its technical sense is clearly demonstrated by an inscription (Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 402) τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν μὲν μουσικὸν ἰσο[πύθιον, τὸν δὲ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἰσονέμεον ταῖς τε ἡλικίαις καὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς: i.e. it applies not to the time of the celebration but to age-groups of competitors and to awards (cf. R. M. Geer, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Ass.* lxxi, 1935, p. 209). The general meaning of the word is already correctly understood by Reisch (l.c.).

Secondly, the only extant cases where the Actiad might appear to be used as a time-reckoning are in an inscription recorded by Cyriacus of Ancona at Janina and in a passage of Josephus (cf. Kubitscek, P.-W. I. i, s.v. 'Aera'). But we find on closer examination that the inscription (publ. Riemann, *B.C.H.* i, 1877, p. 294) is a record after a common pattern commemorating the services of one P. Memmius Leo at a particular celebration of the Games, ἀγωνοθέτην μεγάλων Ἀκτίων Καίσαρῶν, Ἀκτι[δ]δος ξή. Naturally, just as victors' dedications frequently do (cf. *I.G.I.* xiv. 748, 1102; *C.I.L.* ix. 2860), it gives the number of the celebration, but it is not an example of time-reckoning by Actiads; its significance, in any case, is limited to the neighbourhood of Nicopolis.

In *Bell. Jud.* i. 398 Josephus says that Augustus gave to Herod the territory of Trachonitis, Batanaea, and Auranitis μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ὀκτιάδα. This is admittedly a statement of time by means of an Actiad. But Josephus does not elsewhere reckon time by Olympiads so that, whatever this phrase may mean, it cannot be a substitution of Actiad for Olympiad.

There is then no foundation for Gagé's arguments either that the term 'isolympic' had anything to do with the time of the Olympia or that chronological reckoning by Actiads even çà et là replaced reckoning by Olympiads. No inference therefore can be drawn from the cycle of the Olympia to determine that of the Actia, and we have nothing here to show that the Actian Games were founded in 28 B.C.

Some further support for his view Gagé finds in the fragments of the inscription of the Actian monument found at Mikalitz. He supposes, with some justification, that the letters *ptim* on one fragment are part of the word *septimum*, which he would refer to Augustus' seventh salutation as *imperator* in 29 B.C. 'Je ne crois pas qu'il faille songer à "consul septimum", ce qui nous ferait descendre à 27.' A glance at other inscriptions of the period, where Augustus' salutations as *imperator* and consulships are regularly listed side by side (cf. Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* 79, 80, 81), is sufficient to show that we cannot without prejudice, in the present state of the evidence, favour a reference to 29 B.C. rather than to 27. As far as the inscription shows both are equally possible.

Suppose, however, that the Actia were founded in 28 B.C., and that the cycle coincided with that of the Olympia. What would have been the result? It is almost certain that the Actian Games were held on 2 September, the anniversary of the battle (cf. Gagé, l.c., p. 96). We know also from the Scholiast on Pindar *Ol.* 3. 35

that the Olympia fell alternately in the months Apollonios and Parthenios of the Elean calendar and that these were equivalent to the Egyptian months of Mesor and Thoth. The latter ran respectively from 25 July to 23 August, and from 29 August to 28 September (cf. Ziehen, P.-W. XVIII. i, s.v. 'Olympia'). Now there is good reason to believe that the dedications after Actium, the commemorative coinage of 29 B.C., and the founding of Nicopolis itself were carefully planned for their propaganda value (cf. Tarn, *J.R.S.* xxi, 1931, pp. 179 ff.), and Gagé has argued at length that similarly events in the career of Augustus did not fall on singularly happy dates without forethought on the part of the *princeps* and his followers.<sup>1</sup>

Are we then to suppose that, in constituting the games at Actium which were to be a splendid reminder of his victory, Augustus, not in the first rush of events but after the interval while the synoecism of Nicopolis was being effected and the monument built, ineptly allowed the first celebration so to fall that the Actia would be liable then and ever after to be rivalled or eclipsed by the greatest of the long-established Greek festivals? The games at Nicopolis were to be 'isolympic' in scale; they certainly would not be if the older festival enticed away many of the most distinguished competitors.

If the year 28 B.C. is unlikely, what alternative offers? We might expect some help from the passage of Josephus discussed above, but when we consider that Josephus nowhere else reckons by Actiads and that the context has nothing to do with Nicopolis, it is scarcely conceivable that Josephus is here directly alluding to the interval between the Nicopolitan celebrations. Otto (P.-W. Supp. 2, s.v. 'Herodes', col. 64) is undoubtedly right in referring the expression to the games founded by Herod at Jerusalem in honour of Octavian, which Josephus describes in *Ant. Jud.* 15. 268 ff.: that these were 'Actian' games is not certain but highly probable in view of the 'Actian' celebrations in other cities, some at least of which dated back to the period immediately after the battle, and it is reasonable to suppose that Josephus' words link an earlier mark of honour shown to Octavian by Herod with a later demonstration of Augustus' goodwill towards the king. It is only, then, if we assume that Herod's games occurred in the same year as the Nicopolitan Actia that any inference can be drawn from them. Such an assumption is possible, but could not be more than an assumption.<sup>2</sup>

The most compelling evidence, however, comes from Statius, *Silvae* 2. 2. 6 ff., which Gagé has arbitrarily dismissed as unreliable (l.c., p. 96, n. 1). Statius here records how, after a celebration of the Augustalia at Naples, while other competitors went on to the Actian Games, he himself was persuaded by Pollius to visit his villa at Sorrento:

huc me post patrii laetum quinquennia lustrī  
cum stadio iam pigra quies canusque sederet  
pulvis, ad Ambracias conversa gymnade frondis,  
trans gentile fretum placidi facundia Polli  
detulit. . . .

<sup>1</sup> e.g. the battle of Alexandria on 1 Aug., the official announcement of Actium probably on 23 Sept., Augustus' birthday, the dedication of the temple of Apollo Palatinus on 9 Oct. (Gagé, l.c., pp. 58 ff., 61, n. 4).

<sup>2</sup> It has been made, and Otto (l.c.) is disposed to accept it, but only to give additional support to an opinion formed on other grounds that Herod's games were probably established in 28 B.C. It should be noted that Otto assumes as proven that the Actia were founded in 28 B.C. and that, when Gagé quotes Otto (l.c. p. 94,

n. 1), he is begging his own question, as well as taking for granted the coincidence of the Nicopolitan cycle with that of the games at Jerusalem. In any case, all that can really be gleaned from Josephus about the date of Herod's games is that they happened after the death of Costobar (*Ant. Jud.* 15. 259-66), 28-27 B.C., and before the rebuilding of Samaria, in or after 27, assuming that Josephus' account is chronological. The phrase *μετὰ τὴν πρῶτην ἀκτιάδα* itself is too vague to allow of any profitable reckoning back from the events to which it refers.



Now the Neapolitan Augustalia happened at the end of July or the beginning of August in the second year of the Olympiad. For this cycle we have ample proof (cf. Beloch, *Campanien*, 57 f.; R. M. Geer, l.c., pp. 214 ff.). We can only then conclude from Statius' words that the Actia fell in September of the same year as the games at Naples, which brings us to 27 B.C. as the only possible year for the foundation. Statius wrote the poem during the visit he describes. The games were of vital importance to himself. A mistake in these circumstances, unlikely in itself, would have been immediately corrected by his friends. We cannot therefore readily reject his testimony, and there is indeed no intrinsic improbability in the assumption that the Actian Games began in 27.

It should be added, for what it is worth, that the Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronicon* links the official foundation of Nicopolis, a ceremony which undoubtedly coincided with the inauguration of the Games, in one entry with the conferring on Octavian of the name Augustus, a conspicuous event of the year 27 B.C.

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### ON THE NEW GREEK HISTORICAL DRAMA

SEE Lobel, *Proc. British Academy* xxxv. 1 ff., June 1950.

I. col. ii. 1. γυ[ ]...εἶδον [ο]ὐκ εἰκάσματι

εἰκάσματι = εἰκασμῶν, 'by guessing', seems at least as likely as εἰκάσματι = εἰδωλόν τι. '[At first I could not make out who or what it was: but when] I saw Gyges [clearly,] not by guesswork, I was afraid of a plot for murder.' For example:

Γυ[γην σαφῶς] [εἰ]σεἶδον, [ο]ὐκ εἰκάσματι, κτλ.

For the relation of εἰκάσματι to εἰκάζω, cf. κόλασμα, κόμπασμα, στόχασμα, ὕβρισμα, etc.

II. col. ii. 7. It looks as though the traces might be reconciled with

ΚΑΘΕΙΡΞΑ CΙΓ' Α]ΠΥC[ΤΟΝ] ΑΙCΧΥΝ[ΗC] ΒΟΗΝ,

cf. S. OC. 489 ἀπυστα φωνῶν μηδὲ μηχανῶν βοήν. There is some doubt about the Υ: but this handwriting is inconsistent, and the doubt seemed to me less in the original than in the photograph.

III. col. ii. 14. πειθους ἐτοιμο[...το[...].ε[...].

The alleged ε (of εἰ near the end) is much more semicircular than is usual in this manuscript; moreover it has a little loop or hook at the end of the upper pincer, characteristic of the right-hand part of K in this manuscript. It looks like a slightly broad K, the upright of which includes the top of an upright on the left of this curve. The alleged ι is joined by what appears to be a ligature to the following letter: but ι is not elsewhere so joined. What it most resembles is ε, with a nearly vertical top half of the main stroke as often elsewhere in this manuscript; it differs from its fellows only in lacking the little hook to the right at the top (the trace of such a hook here indicated by the photograph is not confirmed by the original). The following letter may, indeed almost must, be the top of A, which seems to have had a long tail at the end of the line, as Υ has in col. i. 15.

If ]κεα is correct, the general sense (that the μῦθος tells kings not to lie late abed) might be restored: μῦθος ἦν ἐμοὶ | πειθοῦς ἐτοιμο[ς οὐ]το[ς,] ὅς τ[... οὐ]κ εἰα(ι) | εὔδειν ἀνακτα πάν[νυχ' ὡς] λαῶν μέλει. After ὅς, e.g. τις, τιν', τόδ': it seems to me that there is room for two narrow, perhaps for one narrow and one average, letters between οστ[ and ου]κ.

D. L. PAGE.

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# A NEW GNOMOLOGIUM: WITH SOME REMARKS ON GNOMIC ANTHOLOGIES (I)

## I. THE TEXT

THIS papyrus was acquired, with some others, for the Egypt Exploration Society in 1914 at Medinet-el-Faiyûm by Dr. John Johnson. It consists of five large pieces; of these four join and together measure  $37 \times 24.5$  cm.; they contain remains of three adjacent columns. Another piece measures  $5 \times 13.5$  cm., and a small unplaced scrap (Fr. A)  $4.5 \times 3.7$  cm. The writing of the recto, which runs along the fibres, is large, regular, rounded, and clear, but not elegant; I would assign it to the second century B.C. The verso was written across the fibres; the hand may be the same, but seems more cursive; the surface is very damaged and no whole word is legible. A certain irregularity in the spacing of letters and lines suggests that the papyrus was used again for a document.

The larger unplaced fragment is mostly illegible; if l. 3 is a line of Euripides (see n. ad loc.) it will probably belong to a column preceding the others; I have made it col. I. The first of the three other columns, col. II, contains iambic γνῶμαι of one or more lines, presumably from a single comic author; these are continued down to l. 25 of col. III, where we have a prose quotation attributed by the compiler to 'Theophrastus or Anaximenes', which is followed (l. 29) by another from Demosthenes. Only a couple of initial letters remain of col. IV. At the top of col. III, to the left, on a projecting shred, are illegible remains of two lines of writing too short to have been part of the text; they seem to have been a heading which perhaps extended over cols. II and III. The verse passages were divided by inconspicuous paragraphi. There appear to be corrections in col. III, ll. 22; 30; other corrections, or variant readings, are found at the foot of col. II and col. III, in the same hand as that of the text. The quotations have a common subject—*Τύχη* and its relation to human life.

I am grateful to several scholars for criticisms and suggestions; above all to Dr. Paul Maas, who read through the whole text for me.

### Col. I

1	]...[
2	]...τυχ[
3	]...νομί[
4	].....[
5	]...π...ρ...[
6	].....[
7	]...νι...[
8	]νι...[
9	]...[
10	]λη....[
11	]ηντε....[
12	]...ευτυχ[
13	]...τουσε...[
14	].....[
15	]....[
16	]ο.παπεχ[
17	]...[
18	]νη[
19	]...ο...[
20	]π[

3 [τὸν εὐτυχούντα καὶ φρονεῖν νομίζ[ομεν]? (Euripides fr. 1017 Nauck).

γ, μ,  
First  
ll. εκ  
καίτ,  
fortu

## Col. II

(Two, or perhaps three lines missing)

1		]ημ.[
2		]τακα[
3		]ρτασμα[
4		]προσθη...[
5		]πολλακικ
6		]αυτοσμαθης
7		]τυχη
8		]ρουσεχω
9		]θελης
10		]...[...]τασις
11		]ν...[...].ει....[
12		]ονειν[...].χην
13		]τεκα[...].νπ.τε[
14		]σειασλο.ον
15		]αξετον..ον
16	[	]...[...].λφ[
17	[	[.....]τισεστην.τεμπει[...].α
18	[	[...].ρονωνλογισμοςεντοι[...].πραγμασι
19		πολλακικα[...].σιγαρ
20	[	[...].μεμποριζειτοιςδεχρη[...].πηματα
21	[	[...].γουνκαγειντοντονουνε[...].ς
22	[	[...].θεκατωμο...καιπλουτ[...].[...].
23	[	[...].αιπενεσθ.ικαιτ.νεκτινω[
24	[	[...].ενδε.α.ωσζωμαδουκ....[...].
25	[	[...].τοματαπρ...πειπτονταπρ.στι...χ[
26	[	[...].εστινουδενποικιλωτεροντυχης

χρηματα.ο.ιζει

- 1 After ημ: ω, or two letters. 2 First doubtful letter: possible, η, κ, π. 4 After η: γ, μ, π; next: ε, θ, ο, ς, ω; last: α, ω. 6 First l.: κ, μ, ν, π, χ. 8 First l.: μ, π, or .ι. 9 First l.: ν or .ι. 11 First l.: perhaps ν. After ν: ε, θ; next: κ? Before ε: κ, π? Last two doubtful ll. ες or σε. 13 After α: μ, π. 21 Penultimate l.: ο or ω. 22 Line ends: ι, ν, ο, ω. 23 After καιτ, ο or a rather thick ι. 24 After φς, between this c and the next, and below, a mark, perhaps fortuitous.

1	[	]ημ.[
2	[	]τακα[
3	[	χο]ρτασμα[
4	[	]προσθη...[
5	[	]πολλακικς
6	[	]αυτος μαθης
7	[	]τυχη
8	[	]ρους εχω
9	[	]θελης
10	[	]...[...]τασις
11	[	]ν...[...].ει....[
12	[	]ον εινα[ι τ]υχην
13	[	]τεκα[...].ν προτε[

14 [ ]σεισας λογον  
 15 [ ...τα]ραξε τον βιον  
 16 [ ]..[ ]λω[  
 17 [.....]τις εστιν η τ' εμπει[ρι]α  
 18 [.. σω]φρωνων λογισμος εν τοι[s] πραγμασι.  
 19 πολλakis κακ[οι]σι γαρ  
 20 [τα] μεν ποριζει, τοις δε χρησ[τοις] πηματα  
 21 [..]ρουκαγειεγτουτονουε[.....].s  
 22 [....]θ' εκαστω μοιρα και πλουτ[.]. [....]ε  
 23 [..]αι πενεσθαι και την εκ τωνω.[  
 24 [..]ενδε και πως σωμα δ' ουκ εστιν [τυχ]η.  
 25 [ταυ]τοματα προσθειπτοντα, ταυτ' εστιν τυχ[η].  
 26 [ουκ] εστιν ουδεν ποικιλωτερον τυχης.

χρηματα ποριζει.

## Col. III

1 [ ]...[  
 2 [ ].....ς  
 3 [.....].τακα.πρ.ξικ.[  
 4 [.....].α.ελεσταδω....ει  
 5 [.....]επραξινουτε.υινεχει  
 6 [.....].ικαιευρικειπορον  
 7 ου[.....]ροσστηρησενεγκαιτυχη  
 8 κακ.[.....].ρικατουριωσεδε  
 9 ωσπερο.[.....]ωσφερωντοφορτιον  
 10 χαλεπονδυ[.....]νιωντατηντυχην  
 11 ραωσενεγ.[.....]πρνειθοτανφερε.ν  
 12 αυτηνκατατρ[...].μηδυνηθωσιντ..[  
 13 χειμαζομεν[....]εγνουσιτηναυθαδια[  
 14 ουτωιφερειν.[...]αγμακαυλεγεινκαλω  
 15 καιπαντα.[.....].καινουνεχε[  
 16 κα...ηστο.θηςγε[.....]...ανδεμη  
 17 [.....].στ.εψαα.....τυχη  
 18 τρυτουδεχαλκουφαι....[  
 19 [..].σεπιτηδεσπαν...ε.....[  
 20 [..].χηντροπονουνουψ..[  
 21 αλ[...].μφωνοσαντωιγεγον..[  
 22 αλ[...].πρλλακιταμενδοχθεντατ[  
 23 [..]ων..δοκ[.....]νδε[  
 24 [..]υρειγενομεναννδοκει....[  
 25 θεοφραστου ηαναξιμεν.υε  
 26 .ο.αρ.υελο.ιστοντο.βιουτ..σανθ[

4 First doubtful l.: γ, ι, ρ, τ. After the α which follows: β, γ, μ, ν, π, ρ.

with τ, υ, φ, ψ. Before και we might read μ, ης, υε, co, or .υ. 8 First l. of line: κ or possibly χ. Third: κ or λ. Fourth: almost certainly ω. 9 7th l.: κ, μ, ν, π, υ all possible. 11 ]προν: π ligatured to ο as in previous line; but ]μρον possible. 12 End of line, after τ, indeterminate traces.

15 After παντα: γ, η, μ, ν, π. The three doubtful ll. after the lacuna respectively τ, γ, ι, ο; υ, ν. At end of line no more traces after εχε but since the surface is rubbed here something (e.g. ι) may have been lost. 17 Apparently nothing after τυχη. 19 [.]oc or ωc.



- 27 [.]·χηνηπροσαγορευεινειωθαμ·νειγ·[  
 28 [.....]ατ·ρθουμενονομ[.]·υχ[.]·ουκ·[  
 29 δημοςθενους  
 30 δ<sub>ε</sub> [..]...ω·ν·ρε·αθηναι·...ι·ανθρ[  
 31 [.....]·φι[.....]...ο·[.....]·...ρη[

]ρευλο·ιστον

In col. IV at the level of l. 5 of col. III there is a paragraph; nothing remains of the next line; the next two lines begin with η[ and κ[ respectively.

- 1 (traces)  
 2 (traces)  
 3 [.....]·τα και πραξις·[  
 4 [.....]·ἀμελες ταδω·...ει  
 5 [..... ουτ]ε πραξιν ουτε λυσιν έχει  
 6 [.....]·... και εύρισκει πορον·  
 7 ου [παντος ανδ]ρος στρηγος υπενεγκαι τυχης  
 8 κακ·[.....]·περικατουριωσε δε  
 9 ωσπερ οη[ος εγκρατ]ως φερων το φορτιον·  
 10 χαλεπον δυ[.....]·νιωντα την τυχην  
 11 ραως ενεγκ[ειν, χαλε]πον· ειθ', όταν φερειν  
 12 αυτην κατα τρ[οπο]ν μη δυνηθωσιν τιμ[ες,  
 13 χευμαζομεν[οι στ]εγουσι την αυθαδια[ν·  
 14 ου τωι φερειν τ[ο πρ]αγμα και λεγειν καλως  
 15 και παντα [.....]·... και νουν έχει[  
 16 και χρηστοθηης γε[.....]·... αν δε μη  
 17 [.....]·...στρεψασα·...·τυχη  
 18 τρυτουδε χαλκου φαιν·...[  
 19 [·]·σεπιτηδες παντ·...·[  
 20 [τ]υχην τροπον νουν οψιν [·  
 21 αλ[σ]υμφωνος αυτωι γεγον·[  
 22 πολλακι τα μεν δοχθεντα τ[·  
 23 [·]ων·...δοκ[.....]·νδε[  
 24 [φ]υσει γενομενα νυν δοκει·...·[  
 25 Θεοφραστου ή Αναξιμενους· (= Stob. Ecl. 2. 8. 17)  
 26 το γαρ δυσλογιστον του βιου τοις ανθ[ρωποις]  
 27 [τ]υχην προσαγορευειν ειωθαμεν· ει γαρ ταις γνω·[  
 28 [μαις κ]ατ'ρθουμεν, ονομ[α τ]υχ[ης] ουκ ε[ν ην·]  
 29 Δημοσθενους· (= De Corona 252 = Stob. Flor. 112. 14)  
 30 δ<sub>ε</sub> [εγ]ωχ<sub>ε</sub>, ω ανδρες Αθηναιοι, οστις ανθρ[ωπος ων]  
 31 [ανθρω]πωι [τυχη]ν προφ[ερει ανο]ητον [ηγουμαι·]

? το γα]ρ εύλογιστον.

## Fragment A

[.....]  
 ]φλγαρονε[  
 ]γενε[

K

*Col. I.* This fragment has been placed first on the following assumptions: (1) that the identification of l. 3 with Euripides fr. 1017 (Nauck) is correct; (2) that this line is really by Euripides and not by Menander or some other comic writer; (3) that the compiler has grouped his citations according to literary genre in the order: tragedy, comedy, prose.

12. Perhaps *Monost.* 306: κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φρόνησιν οὐδε[ι]ς εὐτυχ[εῖ]. But there are many other possibilities.

Cols. II and III contain (a) iambic γινῶμαι, of which the best preserved are evidently from later Comedy. The heading or headings are lost, but the style and language suggest Menander and in many cases the sentiments and expressions find close parallels in the remains of that author. The quotations were separated by paragraphi, but these are in most cases lost. All the fragments are new. (b) Two prose γινῶμαι, both also in Stobaeus.

*Col. II.* 1-16. These lines probably contained reflections on the mutability of Fortune (l. 10) and the consequent disturbance of life (l. 15).

3. χόρτασμα is not found in extant comedy, but χορτάζειν, χορτασμός are good comic words.

10. ]ταισις: perhaps μεταστασις.

12. μον]ον? Maas.

15. Perhaps ἀπαντ' ἐτρεψε κατὰ]ραξε τον βιον: Maas.

17 f. '... experience and sensible calculation in affairs.' Maas suggests χῶ σω]φρονων or possibly ὁ τε σω]φρονων κτλ. The passage probably declared τύχη to be a less important factor in human affairs than λογισμός and ἐμπειρία. The same view is often expressed (cf. Plutarch's *Περὶ Τύχης*) as an answer to the despairing doctrine τύχη τὰ θνητῶν πράγματα, οὐκ ἐβουλία (Chaeremon, fr. 2).

18. πραγμασι: probably in a quite general sense here, as Men. fr. 247-8 (Kock): οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν, πάτερ, ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει | μεῖζον λογισμοῦ τῷ διαθέσθαι πράγματα.

19 ff. 'For often she supplies riches to the wicked, but woes to the worthy.' In l. 20 the right reading is doubtless that of the variant in the lower margin, χρηματα πορίζει.

21. νουν ε[χειν?

22. [ἐπεσ]θ'? For the sentiment cf. Soph. fr. 624 (Nauck): οὐ γὰρ πρὸ μοίρας ἡ τύχη βιάζεται. Here τύχη seems to be dismissed altogether in favour of μοῖρα. πλουτ[ι]: Professor Page's suggestion πλουτεῖν ποιεῖ would make excellent sense, but the traces after τ do not suit it very well.

23. [ὥς κ]αι? ([ἡ κ]αι seems too short.)

24. ποθ]εν δε? '... But Fortune is not a corporeal thing.' σωμα: in this sense, cf. Men. fr. 594 (Kock): ἀδύνατον ὥς ἔστιν τι σῶμα τῆς Τύχης; Melissus, fr. 9: δεῖ αὐτὸ (sc. τὸ ὄν) σῶμα μὴ ἔχειν. These two examples led me at first to read τυχη]ι, possessive dative, but Page suggested that the nominative would be better; this is supported by Sext. Empir. *Adv. Math.* 10. 215: φασὶν οἱ μὲν σῶμα εἶναι τὸν χρόνον, οἱ δ' ἀσώματον. Meineke, *Men. et Phil. Fr.*, pp. 212 f., notes a corresponding use of *corpus* in Latin: Suet. *Jul. Caes.* 77.

25. 'Chance accidents as they occur—that is what Fortune is.' Cf. Philemon fr. 137 (Kock): οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν οὐδεμία τύχη θεός, | οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ ταυτόματον, ὃ γίνεται | ὥς ἔτυχ' ἐκάστω, προσαγορεύεται τύχη. Cf. Diotogenes *ap. Stob. Flor.* 43, 130.

26. 'There is nothing more variable than Fortune.' For this commonplace sentiment cf., for example, Men. fr. 288: ὥς ποικίλον πρᾶγμ' ἐστὶ καὶ πλάνον τύχη.

*Col. III.* 3-6. Although too little remains of these lines to make reconstruction possible, the sense may be conjectured, and we have what may be echoes of them in three different places: (1) Greg. Naz., Migne, *P.G.* xxxvii. 945: καιρὸς δὲ δὴ μάλιστα ἡ βίου λύσις. Cf. l. 5 below. (2) Ziebarth, *Texte aus d. ant. Schule*, No. 47, l. 255: τίς ἡ τοῦ

βίον πράξις ; καιρός. (This definition, with a number of others, any of which may be paraphrases of verse γνώμαι, forming a sort of ethical questionnaire, is from a school text of miscellaneous content from the third century A.D.) (3) Palladas, *A.P.* 10. 52: *Εἶγε λέγων τὸν καιρὸν ἔφησθε θεόν, εἶγε Μένανδρε . . . πολλάκι γὰρ τοῦ σφόδρα μεριμνηθέντος ἄμεινον προσπεσὸν εὐκαιρῶς εὗρε τι ταυτόματον.* Meineke refers this specially to Men. fr. 291: ταυτόματόν ἐστιν ὡς ἔοικέ που θεός· σῶζει τε πολλὰ τῶν †ἀοράτων† πραγμάτων (with this cf. Men. fr. 275: ταυτόματον ἡμῖν ἀφανὲς ὃν συλλαμβάνει). But the last line of the epigram might echo l. 25 of col. I above; Palladas may have had this passage also in mind. Perhaps the epigram is a reminiscence of several passages at once.

3. Perhaps λυσις . . . ταυτομ[α]τα και πραξις β[ι]ου. Cf. Men. fr. 460: αὐτόματα γὰρ τὰ πράγματα' ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον | ρεῖ κτλ. For λυσις in this sense, cf. Chares, fr. c, l. 33 (Powell, *Coll. Alex.*, p. 224): λύσιν πονηρῶν.

5. πράξις: cf. Euryphamus Π. Βίου *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 103. 27: καὶ ἃ μὲν (= ἀρετῇ) τὰν προαίρεσιν καὶ τὸν λόγον ὀρθὸν παρέχεσθαι, ἃ δὲ (= τύχῃ) τὰς ἐνεργείας καὶ τὰς πράξεις.

6. εὕρισκει πορον: cf. the penultimate line of several of Euripides' plays, see n. on ll. 22 ff., below; Aristarchus *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 63. 9 (on ἔρωσ); Dio Chrys. 63 (p. 203, ll. 29 ff. ed. Dindorf) (on τύχῃ).

7 ff. 'It is not for every man to bear Fortune's wantonness . . . but he comes in with a fair wind, bearing the burden, as an ass does, stoutly.' οὐ [παντος ἀνδ]ρος: παντος was suggested to me by Professor Fraenkel. περικατουριῶσε: the word, if not corrupt, is new; but cf. κατουρόω, κατουρίζω; also οὐριόω.

9. ὥσπερ ὄν[ο]ς: suggested by Fraenkel and Maas independently. Prejudice against mixed metaphors is perhaps modern. ἐγκρατ[ι]ως Fraenkel; εὐκολ[ι]ως Maas. φερων το φορτίον: with this passage and the next cf. Apollodorus, fr. 17 (Kock): χαλεπὸν τύχῃ 'στι πρᾶγμα, χαλεπὸν· ἀλλὰ δεῖ | αὐτὴν φέρειν κατὰ τρόπον ὥσπερ φορτίον.

10 ff. 'It is hard for one [in prosperity (?)] to endure Fortune lightly, hard; later some, when they cannot bear her reasonably, being tempest-tossed, bewail their wilfulness.' If, as Maas suggests, the reference is to the difficulty of bearing good fortune, perhaps supply στρη]νιωντα in l. 10.

11. ῥᾶως: Suidas: ῥᾶως = εὐκόλως (Maas).

14 ff. 'It is not by bearing the matter, and saying "it is well" . . . ' The interpretation of λεγειν καλως adopted here was suggested by Maas.

15. After παντα, some part of πᾶσχειν?

18. τουτουδεχαλκου seems almost certain, but how the words are to be divided I do not know.

19. The first letter or letters of the line are puzzling and perhaps corrupt. Perhaps the sense of these lines was that whoever succeeds in reconciling his character and faculties with Fortune is at harmony with himself; but one might of course read αὐτῶι.

20. After ὁψιν, possibly ἀκοην: Mr. Roberts.

22 ff. A fresh quotation probably begins here; perhaps compare the familiar Euripidean ending, *Alc.* 1690 f.; *Med.* 1417 f.; *Andr.* 1286 f.; *Hel.* 1690 f.; *Bacch.* 1390 f. (Maas). Or (comparing φύσει, l. 24), Dio Chrys. 65, p. 216, ll. 18 ff. (Dind.): (ἡ τύχῃ) συνεχεῖς ποιεῖται τὰς μεταβολάς, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἢ τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν; cf. *ibid.*, p. 217, 17 f.; Accius, fr. 68-9 (Warmington): 'Multo iniquo, mulier, animo sibi mala auxere in malis | quibus natura prava magis quam fors aut Fortuna obfuit.' πολλακι has been corrected, but the correction is illegible.

25 ff. Θεοφραστου ἢ Αναξιμενους: Stobaeus attributes this dictum to Anaximenes without question.

27. There is not room for the full reading as we find it in Stobaeus; I suppose that πάντα was omitted here.

28. This supports the reading of P (Heeren would supply τῆς).

δε

30. [ἐγ]ω[γε] ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι: the accepted reading is ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μὲν.

31. There seems to be no room for the παντελὺς of the vulg., which is omitted by S L F Bz.

Margin: if ρ is right, the reading is puzzling, το γὰρ εὐλογιστον being the opposite of what the sense requires. Maas notes that reading thus the line scans as a choliambus.

## II. GNOMIC ANTHOLOGIES: THEIR HISTORY AND USE

The word 'anthology' has been used to describe several collections of literary pieces which have reached us in the manuscript tradition and fragmentary remains of many other compilations which have from time to time been discovered in the papyri. If we examine them individually, it will be at once apparent that the term has been applied to compilations so widely different that the only thing which all have in common is the fact that they are compilations. Some contain short pieces each complete in itself, others mainly selected passages from longer works; some have only verse, some only prose, others both; some confine themselves to the works of a single author, others draw from many; the length of the pieces chosen also varies extremely. Only one satisfactory distinction is discoverable: that of *purpose*.

That the kind of distinction I mean was recognized in antiquity I believe to be indicated by certain passages in Plutarch's *Moralia* in which he makes use of a simile in his day familiar to all: that which compares the serious and diligent student to the bee. This simile is most fully worked out in *De recta ratione audiendi* 8 (41 E f.), where the bee is contrasted with the στεφανηπλόκος. Plutarch is here speaking of philosophy; but he uses the same simile in other places and in other connexions. In *Quomodo quis sent. prof. virt.* 8 (79 c) the same principle is applied to reading of a quite general kind. See also *De Tranq.* 5 (467 c); *De amore proliis* 2 (494 A). (In an anonymous Byzantine epistle, Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* iii, p. 173, is a very similar passage which seems to echo Plutarch.)

The application of the first of these passages to the anthologies might escape us but for the fact that in *Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat*, where he has (as I hope to show later) a most explicit account of what might be called the anthological system of literary study for the young, he has the same simile, more briefly expressed, § 12 (32 E).

Now the simile, as we have said, was not new to him; its earliest occurrence is in the well-known passage of Isocrates(?), *Ad Dæmonium* 51 f., where the reader is advised to emulate the bee in selecting from the poets and the other σοφισταί.

We find it again in Lucian, *Piscator* 6, where Lucian is faced with an angry crowd of philosophers who say that he has traduced them. After an attempt to defend himself from their fury by wholesale quotation from Homer and Euripides, in which he is defeated by Plato, he pleads that one who has like a bee gathered from them as much as he has, so that the debt is plain for all to see in his writings, could never have done them such a wrong. Plato replies that he has in fact been ungrateful to the philosophers, who had opened their λειμών<sup>1</sup> to him and let him go away with his arms

<sup>1</sup> The word λειμών constantly recurs in connexion with the concept of ἀνθολογία (cf., for example, Themist. *Or.* iv, p. 54 B: ἀνθη ἀκμήματα συλλεγόμενος ἐκ τῶν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους λειμώνων) as the wide and varied field from which the literary selector gathers his flowers or his honey. The name was perhaps only later transferred to the result of selection—compilations of extracts of

one kind or another—see Pliny, *N.H.*, preface, § 23; Gellius, *N.A.*, preface, § 6; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. ii. 1; 6. 2. 1; 7. iii. 1. On this and other metaphorical titles for books of miscellaneous content, some of which were certainly, and others (for instance, *Κηρίον*) very probably anthologies, see Dölger, *Sitzb. d. bay. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Abt.*, Munich, 1936, pp. 22 ff.

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full. Here we find a rhetorician acknowledging his debt to philosophic writers, from whom he has taken γνῶμαι as an aid to composition.

Compare Themistius, *Or.* xxiv (*Protrepticus*), p. 307 f., where in the same simile the 'meadows of Apollo' are mentioned.

We meet with the bee again in a scholion of Maximus Planudes on Hermogenes (Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, v, p. 396), where a rhetor, Zeno, is quoted in connexion with the question εἰ δεῖ πολλῶν καὶ σοφῶν τὰ μαθήματα συλλέγειν.

Before proceeding farther it seems necessary to deal with a possible objection to the relevance of the evidence so far quoted: the fact that we have up to now heard nothing of the compilation of extracts. Now even if there were no further evidence on this point, the step from selective reading to compilation is such an obvious one that we should be justified in taking it to be everywhere implied. It is the principle and plan of selective reading, rather than the writing down of the extracts thus obtained, which was the significant invention. In Seneca, *Ep.* 83, however, where we have the simile again, there seems to me to be a clear reference to compilation. Seneca emphasizes the necessity of keeping up one's reading while producing literary work: 'Nec scribere tantum nec tantum legere debemus . . . invicem hoc et illo commendandum est, et alterum altero temperandum, ut quicquid lectione collectum est, stilus redigat in corpus.' The results of reading are to be collected by the reader into *favi*, systematically arranged ('hos quoque has apes debemus imitari et quaecumque ex diversa lectione congegimus separare, melius enim distincta servantur') and forming a store for his future use in the production of original work. That Seneca means here a *written* compilation, rather than a mental store, seems suggested (1) by the fact that we find *Κηπίον* as a title of a compilation elsewhere, see p. 132, n. 1, above; (2) that in *Ep.* 33 (for which see later) Seneca says that he has made just such a compilation at the request of his friend Lucilius; the doubts there expressed as to the utility of the practice may be accounted for by supposing that he feared that Lucilius might make too free use of it.

The bee simile is found in several of the Christian writers, who apply it frequently to the selection of what is best in pagan literature for the improvement of Christian youth, sometimes also to selection, for educational purposes, from the Scriptures. In Clement of Alexandria we have several references to the judicious bee, and other allusions which show how familiar his readers were assumed to be with the idea; *Strom.* 1. 11. 1 ff.; 33. 6; 6. 89. 2; cf. 1. 43. 3; 4. 6. 2. Here we find reference to compilation of a sort, though the result is not an anthology.

St. Basil the Great, in the introductory part of the sermon *Πρὸς τοὺς νέους* (Migne, *P.G.* xxxi. 564 ff.) warns his hearers to be discriminating in their use of the ancient writers; the familiar simile follows.

It is used in describing St. Basil's own education by St. Gregory Nazianzen, *Paneg. in Basil.*, xiii (*P.G.* xxxvi, 512); and in the *Epistula ad Seleucum* attributed to St. Gregory or Amphilochius bishop of Iconium (*P.G.* xxxvii. 1578, ll. 33 ff.) we find sentiments similar to St. Basil's expressed in verse; the technique of the wise bee is prescribed for the reader of the old literature as a preparation for the study of the Scriptures.

Eustathius makes long, elaborate, and rather pointless use of the simile, in *S. Philothei Laudatio*, §§ 1 ff. (*Opuscula*, ed. Tafel, pp. 145 f.), and *ibid.*, § 7 (p. 147) applies it again to the education of St. Philotheus himself. Cf. *id.*, *De emend. vit. mon.*, § 87 (p. 235); *De Simulatione*, § 3 (p. 88).

Finally we have the late but important evidence in the name *Μέλισσα*<sup>1</sup> given to

<sup>1</sup> So appropriate is the name that one is tempted to substitute it for the more usual term *Gnomologium*, which has not very good ancient

authority (see Horna, *P.-W.*, Suppl. vi (1935), 75), and has not hitherto been adopted in the case of collections containing long extracts, such as that

actual compilations—the *Melissa* of Antonius Monachus and the *M. Augustana*; compare the Syriac *Liber Apis* of Solomon, bishop of Basrah,<sup>1</sup> a compendium of teaching gathered from 'the blossoms of the two Testaments and the flowers of the holy books', as we read in its interesting preface, where the simile is set out at length.

Applications of it to subjects less relevant to our inquiry are: Lucretius, *De R. N.* 3. 11 ff.; Quintilian, *Inst.* 1. 10. 7; *Anth. Plan.* 274 (on the physician Oribasius, who employs the same method in medicine).

From the sum of the above examples we see the relevance of the simile to:

- (1) the selection of literary excerpts;
- (2) their compilation in writing;
- (3) their application to education;
- (4) their use as an aid to original composition.

Now if we assume, as I think we may, that the full simile in Plutarch, *De rect. rat. aud.* 8, with its contrast between the two kinds of selective study, will equally well apply to the study of poetic and other literature—this, as we shall see, is the connexion in which the simile normally occurs, and is the subject of *Quomodo adolescens*—we are presented with an interesting contrast. In reading poetry, selection is made by both the florist and the bee (both of whom can equally well be said *ἀνθολογεῖν*—see *L. & S.*<sup>2</sup>; Stephanus, *Thes.*, s.v.); but whereas the former plucks bodily for their beauty alone flowers which woven into garlands will provide a shortlived pleasure, the latter gathers from flowers of less sensuous beauty honey for its future use. Thus we have a distinction between selections which have only the pleasure of the reader in view, and those from which he will be able to derive permanent moral and intellectual benefit; which will, in fact, educate him. It is surely no coincidence that the Greek Anthology, which belongs to the former class, had as its original nucleus the *Στέφανος* of Meleager, which was later imitated by the collection of Philippos bearing the same name.<sup>2</sup>

For the subject of the *Stephanos* and the history of the component elements of the Greek Anthology see L. Schmidt in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s.v. 'Anthologia' (vol. i, pp. 2380 ff.). Several collections of this kind have been discovered in the papyri:

P. Petrie II. 49 b. Epigrams: 3rd century B.C.

P. Tebtunis 3 (early 1st century B.C.). Fragments of four elegiac epigrams on various subjects; the second identified (= *Anth. Pal.* ix. 588, *Anth. Plan.* iv. 2. 5).

of Stobaeus and that attributed to Cercidas (for which see later). *Gnomologium* has nevertheless been used throughout this article for gnostic anthology; the term *florilegium* has been avoided as too non-committal.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by [Sir] A. Wallis Budge, 'The Book of the Bee', *Anecd. Oxon.*, Semitic Series, vol. i, part ii (1886).

<sup>2</sup> It is natural for a lover of literature to copy a passage from a work which he has read and which has taken his fancy, with a view to its further perusal or recitation (cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 276 D). We are no more surprised to hear Aristophanes (*Frogs* 151) deplore the bad taste of one who has copied out a speech from a play of Morsimus than we are to find Phidippides reciting a passage of Euripides' *Aeolus* at dinner (*Clouds* 1371). In the papyri we have several examples of apparently random transcriptions like this: the Didot papyrus, from the Serapeum;

another Serapeum papyrus, for which see Calderini, *Aegyptus* xv, pp. 239-45; perhaps also the Strasbourg papyrus edited by Crönert, *Nachr. Gött. Gesellsch., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1922, pp. 17-26; N. Lewis, *Études de Papyrologie*, iii (1936); B. Snell, *Hermes*, Einzelschr., Heft v (1937), pp. 69 ff. Texts which like these are unlikely to have contained more than a few pieces, arranged on no particular system, are hardly to be dignified by the term 'anthology', however interesting their content. Yet we are reminded by the texts in Berl. Kl. Texte V. 15, which seem to have been written out with a view to recitation on the specific occasion of a dinner-party, that in the preparation of choice pieces, *γνώμαι* and *ῥήσεις*, for recitation at social gatherings—a custom which was evidently of high antiquity—some scholars, for instance Reitzenstein, in *Epigramm und Skolion*, have seen the origin of the *Stephanos*. This inquiry cannot, however, be pursued here.

- P. Freiburg I. 4 (late 1st century B.C.). Fragments of three epigrams; the last identified (= *Anth. Pal.* xvi. 119).
- P. Oxy. 662 (probably from the reign of Augustus). Seven epigrams; the first two identified (= *Anth. Pal.* vii. 163, 164). Arranged according to subjects.
- Berl. Kl. Texte 10571 (1st century A.D.): *Anth. Pal.* xii. 76-8; unknown; xii. 106; v. 152. All erotic; 'Aus dem Stephanos des Meleager', Wilamowitz; mostly by Meleager.
- P. Oxy. 671 (late 3rd century A.D.). Fragments of several epigrams arranged according to subject, as the heading shows; see the editor's note.
- P. Brit. Mus. Lit. 60 (3rd century B.C.): a one-author anthology, as the title *σύμμεικτα ἐπιγράμματα Ποσειδῆππου* shows.

In the Greek Anthology and these fragmentary *Stephanoi*, however edifying the content of some of the epigrams may be, the general aim of the compiler has plainly been, not to educate, but to give delight to his reader; each poem is a flower to be woven, as Plutarch describes, into a garland, that symbol of idle pleasure to which Clement of Alexandria devotes chapters of condemnation. Such anthologies have a wholly different content and purpose from the kind with which we are principally concerned, and there seems little to suggest that they are more than remotely connected with them in origin. Our principal concern with the *Stephanos* is to distinguish it from that other kind of anthology which Plutarch has in mind—whose end is educational, and which consists mainly of extracts: the *Gnomologium*. On this see Horna, in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*. Supplementb. vi (1935), 74 ff., s.v. 'Gnome, Gnomendichtung, Gnomologium'. The extant collection most typical of this class is the great compilation of Stobaeus.

In pointing out the distinction between the *Stephanos* and the *Gnomologium* I do not, of course, claim to have discovered anything new. But its importance cannot be exaggerated;<sup>1</sup> with few exceptions the papyrus anthologies can be placed in one or the other of these two categories; of the rest, one or two compilations which cannot be said to exemplify either are (in spite of the fact that they contain literary pieces) not to be regarded as purely literary compilations at all. One which is covered by the word 'Anthology' in its broadest sense and whose aim was educational, but which is not really comparable with the *Gnomologium*, is the little book published by O. Guéraud and P. Jouguet as *Un Livre d'Écolier du III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.* (Publ. de la Soc. royale égyptienne de Papyrologie, Textes et Documents, Cairo 1938).<sup>2</sup> In their introduction the editors have, I think, failed to realize this; and in so doing have also failed to appreciate the exact purpose of the book as a whole;<sup>3</sup> but their account of the gnomonic anthologies with which they compare it is most valuable. Now, if we examine the contents of the book, we find first a syllabary, then monosyllabic words, then polysyllables, then whole lines of verse marked into syllables by points, and finally passages of verse in different metres, written without points. Now if, as the editors suppose, the last few literary pieces are intended to be read for their own sake as literature by the pupil, his progress in literacy must be rapid indeed; he is to go from the elements to extremely difficult comic passages, all within a few pages.

The paradox is, I think, removed if we regard the book as designed as a primer of pronunciation or orthography<sup>4</sup> and the literary passages as exercises of graduated

<sup>1</sup> The basic distinction is sometimes slurred over; for instance by A. D. Knox, *The First Greek Anthologist*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Reviewed by C. H. Roberts, *C.R.*, lii (1938), p. 241; Körte, *Archiv*, xiii (1938), pp. 104 ff.

<sup>3</sup> So does H.-I. Marrou, *Hist. de l'éduc. dans l'antiquité*, pp. 214 ff., while recognizing the difficulty of the editors' view.

<sup>4</sup> There is also the possibility that it was intended for the teaching of shorthand. The method would be somewhat the same, though of course the pupils would be older.

For instruction in the elements of pronunciation and orthography in ancient schools see Beudel, *Qua ratione Graeci liberos docuerint* (Diss. Münster, 1911), pp. 6 ff.; Ziebarth, *Schulwesen*,

difficulty in reading, or spelling from dictation. This is certainly the function of the syllabic exercises at the beginning; with which (as far as reading and pronunciation are concerned, at any rate) we may compare Quintilian, *Inst.* 1. 30 (I do not suggest that Quintilian's words imply the use of a book like this, but simply that it would in fact be an excellent instrument for carrying out his method): 'Syllabis nullum compendium est; praediscendae omnes, nec, ut fit plerumque, difficillima quaeque earum differenda ut in nominibus scribendis deprehendantur.' (We may assume that the pupil in our case too was required to learn these syllables as well as reading or writing them.) Then follow whole words ('tunc ipsis syllabis verba complecti') and finally sentences ('et his sermonem conectere incipiat'); syllable by syllable at first, but more rapidly as the pupil's proficiency and confidence increase (*ibid.* 33: 'certa sit ergo in primis lectio, deinde conjuncta, et diu lentior, donec exercitatione contingat emendata velocitas'). The fondness of the compiler of the *Livre d'Écolier* for rare and difficult words even in the first part of the book well illustrates Quintilian's teaching, *ibid.* 34 f.: 'illud ne paenitebit curasse, cum scribere nomina puer, quemadmodum moris est, coeperit, ne hanc operam in vocabulis et forte occurrentibus pendat. Protinus enim potest interpretationem linguae secretioris, quas Graeci γλώσσας vocant, dum aliud agitur, ediscere et inter prima elementa consequi rem postea proprium tempus desideraturam.' The comic passages at the end of the book must have been selected for the great number of glosses which they contain, and must have been a severe test to the pupil. No doubt the meaning of these glosses was explained in passing by the teacher, as Quintilian's remarks suggest; but their interpretation was not the main purpose of the exercise.

This training in spelling and pronunciation is the work of the γραμματιστής, and it is to his sphere that the book belongs. So evidently does the much later P. Bouriant,<sup>1</sup> though here grammar is treated and orthography and pronunciation are not taught by means of long passages. Here, too, whereas in the *Livre d'Écolier* only two short pieces—the Euripides citations—have any ethical import whatever (cf. the editor's remarks, *introd.*, p. xxx)—a feature which as we shall see is so constant and essential a characteristic of the gnomic anthology that its absence would in itself be enough to justify our rejection of the *Livre d'Écolier* from that class—P. Bouriant contains a short chrestomathy of χρεῖαι of Diogenes and iambic γνώμαι, arranged without regard to subject-matter. The systematic study of χρεῖαι and γνώμαι properly belongs to a later stage in education, but their use as copy-book sentences from the first is approved;<sup>2</sup> cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1. 36. Examples of both χρεῖαι and γνώμαι (mentioned as exercises to be learned by heart in elementary education by Seneca *Ep.* 33 (for which see later) are not uncommon on ostraca which undoubtedly came from the schoolroom: for instance, the two Diogenes χρεῖαι on an ostrakon published by Sir Herbert Thompson, *Proc. Bibl. Soc.* xxxiv, 1912, p. 197; an example of γνώμαι from the poets used as a writing exercise is Berl. Ostr. 12319, published by Wilamowitz, *Sitzb. Berl.* xxxvi (1918) from the third century B.C., and described by the editor as 'vermutlich kalligraphische Übung eines Schülers'. The citations are on a variety of ethical subjects. For other writing exercises used in elementary education see Beudel, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 ff.; Milne, *J.H.S.* xxviii (1908), pp. 121 ff.; *ibid.* xliii (1923), pp. 40 f. Lines of

pp. 123 ff. For examples of exercises from the ancient schoolroom see Ziebarth, *Texte aus der antiken Schule*. For texts divided syllabically by points, cf. B.M. Lit. Pap. 255—a passage of Isocrates *Ad Demonium* whose text has been so altered as not to be readily recognizable. This syllabic division reminds us of the schoolboy in Herodas' Διδάσκαλος who stammers out a speech

of Euripides syllable by syllable as if just learning to pronounce; and see Headlam's commentary on this mime for ancient authorities on methods of teaching pronunciation and spelling.

<sup>1</sup> See M. Lechner, *Erziehung und Bildung in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Munich, 1933, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Horna, *art. cit.* 78.



Menander are frequently found as writing exercises: see Tait, *Ostraca*, Nos. 405, 449; the Menandrian *Monosticha* (for which see W. Mayer, *Abh. bay. Akad.* xv (1881), pp. 407 ff.), were probably so used.

In spite of any misconception on the part of the editors of the *Livre d'Écolier* about the purpose of the text which they have so admirably edited, their conclusions about gnomonic anthologies seem to be eminently sound; particularly their insistence on their educational purpose; and I think that our anthology also is a school text. The precise stage in education to which it and its nearest parallels belong will, I hope, be demonstrated in the course of this article. For the present we will recall the description of the papyrus which I have given in the foreword (above, p. 126). Our anthologist's arrangement of his material is instructive, and I think gives the best clue to the size and scope of the compilation and papyri like it. Consider first the verse citations in cols. II and III. These are γνῶμαι separated only by paragraphi and apparently from a single author whose name will probably have been given, like those of the authors of the prose pieces; perhaps in the upper part of col. II or in col. I. Though this heading is lost, I have little doubt about the identity of the author. They are full of echoes of Menander, a poet who echoes himself more than most. It seems unlikely too that so many quotations would have been made from any lesser representative of the New Comedy. In these γνῶμαι all aspects of the subject of τύχη are treated and various opinions expressed. Two prose γνῶμαι follow in col. III; only traces remain of col. IV, but I suspect that it contained prose also. With the fragmentary col. I, we thus have remains of four columns, to which the illegible lines III. 1 f., extending probably over cols. II and III, may have served as a common heading, perhaps summarizing the subject-matter.

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(To be concluded)

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## THE METRICAL UNITS OF GREEK LYRIC VERSE. I.<sup>1</sup>

### I

WHAT kind of Theory of Music and Theory of Metric was taught to the young Pindar or the young Sophocles? So far are we from an answer to this question that we do not even know how far extra study was necessary, or usual, for the professional poet as compared with the ordinary educated Greek citizen. The interdependence of music and metric in lyric poetry gave complexity to the word-rhythms but kept the study of music, the subordinate partner, theoretically simple. Doubtless by the time the young poet had learnt by heart the words of past masters of lyric verse, sung or accompanied them on the lyre, and danced them in choir or *κῶμος*, he had absorbed by practice and somewhat rule-of-thumb methods of training a great deal of the *τέχνη* which his calling would require. He would have to learn, in common with the *χοροδιδάσκαλος*, how to read and write a simple score, and so he must know the symbols of pitch in such scales as were then in use. The notation of arsis and thesis may have been required too, and if we knew that this was so, and how he was taught to apply it, we might be in a much better position to assess the kind of theory he learnt. But of one thing we may be sure: genius apart, it was his practical training, as performer and spectator, rather than theoretical teaching which gave his ear its cunning and technical skill to compose new rhythms. Hence the impotence of that *τέχνη* to survive once the composition and performance of new songs ceased to be a vital need in Greek life. There was no systematic body of theory to preserve and explain this intricate art, and by the time theoreticians got under way and began to annotate and classify they lacked the practical understanding which could have amplified and corrected the inadequate concepts and terminology bequeathed to them.

The surviving works of grammarians and metricians, therefore, even selectively used, cannot supply us with adequate equipment for the analysis and comprehension of this difficult art of 'metric'. We are driven to supplement their doctrine from our own observations and intuitions. And here there is a risk that we may draw upon our native aesthetic prejudices, without realizing where these are derived from a poetry to which 'metric' is wholly alien or a music which does indeed 'measure' its notes quantitatively but in obedience to its own autonomous laws, not within the bounds of a formalized speech-rhythm such as restricted Greek song-notes in general (at least in 'classical' lyric) to simple longs and shorts, that is, full notes and half notes.

The complexity of Greek metrical phenomena leads inevitably to a search for ordering principles on which to base analysis. This usually resolves itself into a search for rhythmical units of analysis which by combining in different ways are capable of producing all the rich variety of Greek verse. Ancient tradition found this in the various 'feet', disyllabic or trisyllabic, though these had sometimes to be taken in dipodies or 'compound feet' before they could form practicable measuring units or 'metra'. The metra have been adopted in modern theory, together with their names—iambic, choriambic, dactylic, etc., the less organic disyllabic 'feet' being generally discarded as superfluous subdivisions which cannot be inserted or subtracted singly. Here then is a satisfactory method of analysing forms of verse which have a single recurring movement *κατὰ μέτρον*, and the added notions of 'resolution', 'contraction', 'syncopation', and 'catalexis' bring a great many diverse rhythms into this framework. The difficulties begin with sequences of syllables which contain no smaller recurring unit. Is  $\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}$  to be analysed as choriambic+iambic metron? Then what is  $\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}$  which appears in the same company? or  $\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}$

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professors Paul Maas, Donald Robertson, and Bruno Snell for their kindness in reading and criticizing this article.

or ---○○○---? And what are we to do with the common ---○○○---? How can we decide whether to follow the school of thought which sticks to 'quadrisyllabic scansion' (and so get involved with the 'antispast' in ---○○ | ---○○) or that which revives the 'foot' and reads 'troch., troch., iamb, iamb', or a third which divides ---○○ | ---○○ | ---○○ | ---○○ and says the 'natural feeling for rhythm' demands four units each taking an equal quantity of time so that the 'dactyl' has to be hurried over—is in fact a 'cyclic dactyl', equivalent to a trochee, unlike the more leisured dactyl of the hexameter which is the equivalent of a spondee? The way out of these sterile controversies was found when it was realized that the whole 'colon' must be taken as an indivisible phrase-unit, though some cola, being 'dimeters' or 'trimeters' of recurring movement, are susceptible of analytical subdivision. There remains, however, the problem of describing the rest; can they not for convenience be analysed on a purely *de facto* basis, in which case it would not matter whether ---○○○--- was called iamb+trochee+trochee+iamb or antispast+choriamb? But any analysis of this kind cannot avoid *implications*—the implication that disyllabic feet are real units capable of combination, or that the 'antispast' is a 'metron' on a par with other tetrasyllabic metra like the choriamb or iambic. Any analysis, in fact, which uses the names of metra leads straight into theory and must be able to take the consequences.

Analysis by metra, therefore, cannot work satisfactorily except where the movement of a colon is in fact a straightforwardly recurrent 'length' (dimeter, trimeter, etc.) of a particular movement, or where modifications can be accounted for by resolution, contraction, syncopation, or catalexis. A special case of modification can sometimes be made out for 'anacalasis', as for instance in ionics, where ---○○--- is clearly sometimes used as a variation on ---○○--- after Anacreon, and the two are even found in responsion. But outside these limits the device of 'metrizing' has its dangers. Thus the notion of 'aeolic dactyls', which has held the field since the time of Hephaestion, has given rise to the false theory that a 'final *anceps*' (the licence to shorten a long final syllable) can equally well take the form of a lengthened final short xx---○○---. It has also obscured the relation of, for example, xx---○○--- to xx---○○---, or else led to the 'dactylic' scanning of the latter. Again, variations which are permissible in certain relations to a prevailing context of normal rhythm *κατὰ μέτρον*, such as --- in the anacreontic mentioned above, have been accepted outside such context with much resulting confusion of classification. For if Simonides' *Danae* be interpreted as ionics and therefore broken up into metra, then the concept 'ionic' is loosened and blurred accordingly and strange doctrines may prevail as to what is permissible elsewhere, even in responsion, in so capricious and unaccountable a metre, and the canons of textual criticism are thus also affected. Or when the licence, confined to the spoken iambics of comedy, of equating --- to ---, is made to lead to the discovery of loose and irregular 'iambics' in the highly formalized song-technique of Pindar, the proprieties of Greek metric—its nice distinction of styles—are thereby offended.

The metron, then, tetrasyllabic or other, is to be rejected as an analytic unit except in cases of recurring movement, and the names associated with metra must be similarly restricted. We come next to the cola. The disadvantage of the colon as the lowest unit is its size, which gives room for much diversity and makes theoretical grouping more difficult. Here association in contexts, the characteristics of the various types of poetry, and the favourite modifications of particular poets, have all to be taken into account in deciding how to reduce the number of categories, which can be taken as norms and which as variants, and (a common and significant phenomenon) where categories overlap. The traditional terminology has bequeathed a number of names (as distinct from 'metrizing' descriptions) for whole cola, or dicola, names sometimes, like 'glyconic', derived from poets who made particular use of them, some-

times measuring by syllables (the 'Sapphic hendecasyllable', etc.), sometimes referring to occasions of use ('priapean', 'prosodiac'). This variety represents a natural, empirical process of nomenclature, though it adds to the difficulties of the subject for the modern beginner, and obscures some of the cross-relations. It also leaves a number of types unnamed, and others obscurely or contradictorily defined; and modern scholarship suffers in general from having inherited no agreed, automatic system of definition or description which shows the relation of cola to one another.

With all the defects of the received terminology, it is both practicable and desirable to use it for the analysis of most solo-lyric and the choral lyrics of drama. Its real inadequacy begins to be felt in the most difficult branch of Greek versification, the choral lyric outside drama, and here its effect has been positively and seriously misleading for a workable theory of metric. Ancient theorists had a very imperfect comprehension of this lyric, and the root of the trouble was their inorganic line-division, through which they tried to wrest it to the more familiar shapes of a different and simpler style of composition. Boeckh's edition of Pindar, with its stanzas divided into *periods* instead of cola, the end of a period coinciding with the end of a word and often supported by the occurrence of hiatus and *brevis in longo*, at last provided the basis for a sounder theoretical study. The repeating triads, in all but the shortest poems, give a much needed check for the determination of period-end; no calculation, no schematic patterns, and no appeal to rhythmical sense on our part could without this check give any assurance that we had found the right shape for a single stanza of this arbitrary, deliberately unsymmetrical, constantly inventive poetic technique, which gives to each ode its unique, *νεοσίγαλον τρόπον*. This is true especially of Pindar, who appears to have had a much greater metrical range, and greater daring, than any other lyric poet, but it applies also in varying degree to Stesichorus, Simonides, Bacchylides (perhaps least), Ariphron, the Pseudo-Arion's *Hymn to Poseidon*, Aristotle's *Hymn to Virtue*. It is true that in drama, too, each choral ode is metrically a new creation, and the degree of *unaccountability*, of irregular shape not reducible to any predictable formula, in the composition of tragic odes is much greater than in comedy, but the great difference remains that in drama the all-important structural element is the colon, whereas in other choral lyric it is the period.<sup>1</sup> Now cola tend constantly to repeat, to pair, to give balanced groupings, to echo back from a later to an earlier part of the stanza, to round off a full with a catalectic rhythm, a rising or 'blunt' with a falling or 'pendant' close. Many of different type are of roughly equivalent length, and each is a phrase short enough, or homogeneous enough, for the ear to carry it as a single entity. Sometimes the association of two, three, or four cola into a larger grouping or period is discernible; more often, since the stanzas usually repeat only in pairs if at all, such periods are not traceable and we can only note where the rhythm changes or where catalexis or hiatus leaves room for a pause. In either case the structural elements that carry the rhythm and are heard as separate phrases building it up are the cola; we can be fairly confident that these are the units with which the poet himself composed, and that we have some idea of the shape he intended to convey even when we are uncertain about the periods. But now consider such a stanza as this:

ὁδῶν ὁδοὶ περαιτέραι, μία δ' οὐχ ἅπαντας ἄμμε θρέψει  
μελέτα· σοφίαι μὲν αἰπυναί· τοῦτο δὲ προσφέρων ἔσθλον,  
ὄρθιον ὠρυσσαι θαρσύνων,  
τόνδ' ἀνέρα δαίμονιά γεγάμεν  
εὐχέειρα, δεξιόγυιον, ὀρώντ' ἄλκάν,  
Αἴαν, τεόν τ' ἐν δαυτί, Ἰλιάδα, νικῶν ἐπεστεφάνωσε βωμόν.

<sup>1</sup> This statement (*v. infra*, p. 148) has to be modified to some extent for dactylo-epitrite, which, as will be seen, is the nearest point of approach between the two kinds of technique.



(Pind. *Ol.* 9. 105 ff.)<sup>1</sup> The period-ends are not at all certain, so that different versions are given by different scholars. As to how the periods should be analysed into smaller units, and still more over the interpretation of these, no two metricians can agree. There is little obvious repetition or rhythmical 'pick-up' to assist our untrained modern ear; the phrases do not fall apart of themselves. Word-end will not help, since Pindar often (though not consistently) makes a practice of bridging over the junctions of his phrase-units in order to carry the rhythm on to the end of the period. We are driven to theoretical study, and our theories are fallible.

One reason for their fallibility is the persistent search for cola of the same kind as in dramatic choruses, with their comfortably familiar labels. If we set down a period in longs and shorts and succeed in dividing these up into 'anapaest + dochmiac + reizianum', this is worth no more as an elucidation than to call - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - 'trochaic + iambic metron'. A specious plausibility may be given to such analysis by sorting out several of these same elements in the rest of the stanza, but so long as 'anapaest' is used to cover both - ∪ ∪ - and ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ -, 'dochmiac' any of the numerous varieties attested in their proper context in tragedy, and 'reizianum' such fictions as ∪ ∪ - ∪ - as well as - ∪ ∪ ∪ -, the gain is illusory. There is more justification for labelling

Ἀριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, ὃ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ

'priapean', i.e. 'glyconic + pherecratean', but here too there are reservations. The 'glyconic' has in every stanza an initial ∪ -, whereas the 'pherecratean' starts - ∪; thus the latter is not simply a catalectic version of the former. It may prove fruitful to consider these openings in relation to other metrical units, and also to reflect upon the meaning of the difference between Pindar's 'glyconic' and the Sophoclean

τὸν σὸν δαίμονα, τὸν σόν, ὦ  
τῶν Ὀιδιπόδα, βροτῶν . . .

which is in responson with

ἐμὸς καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' ἐπι-  
-μάθης ταῖς μεγάλαισιν ἐν . . .

Nor is such a combination as the priapean a metrical cliché in Pindar; its rarity in fact should again make us think twice. But the main problem is to know on what *principles* the longer periods can be split up. If Pind. *Nem.* 7. 13

σκότον πολὺν ὕμνων ἔχοντι δεόμεναι

is analysed by one scholar as an 'iambic' trimeter

∪ - ∪ ∪ - | - ∪ - | ∪ ∪ ∪ -,

by another as two reiziana

∪ - ∪ ∪ - - | ∪ - ∪ ∪ ∪ -

is one result preferable to the other, or are both wrong, or is it a matter of indifference? Can we hope to arrive at any notion of the kind of units the poet himself recognized? It can, I think, be accepted as certain that these periods *are* composite; all except the shortest are too long and too incredibly diverse to have been conceived as single wholes. The purpose of the present essay is to try to disengage by observation some principles of composition which appear to be discernible in all the varieties of choral lyric outside drama, and to show what this metrical art has in common with other forms of lyric and where its technique is different. It will be concerned chiefly with Pindar, as the most difficult of composers and the one who has suffered most from attempts to force his metric into conformity with better understood types of composition and to use the same terminology for all alike.

<sup>1</sup> To be analysed in the second instalment of this article.

The rhythm of Greek verse is produced by collocations of long and short syllables punctuated by pause. Lyric verse, though sung, is based upon the natural prosody of speech-rhythm for its quantities but has sacrificed pitch-accent in favour of the principle of responsion. Since it has no returning dynamic stress such as can impose rhythm upon a lengthy sequence of notes of equal quantity, it can only use such sequences where the phrasing, the arrangement of pauses, or the prevailing rhythm of the context can keep them clear. Thus in Soph. *El.* 233-5 twenty-one long syllables are kept in a perfectly clear paroemiac rhythm:

ἀλλ' ὄν ἐννοία γ' αὐδῶ  
μάτηρ ὥσεί τις πιστά,  
μὴ τίκτειν σ' ἅταν ἄταις

and thirty-two short syllables are achieved (as something of a *tour de force*) in Eur. *Or.* 149-50 with the help of the dochmiac echo of the whole context, into which they sink back in the next line:

κάταγε, κάταγε, πρόσιθ', ἀτρέμας, ἀτρέμας ἴθι.  
λόγον ἀπόδος ἐφ' ὃ τι χρέος ἐμόλετέ ποτε.  
χρόνια γὰρ πεσών ὁδ' ἐνάζεται.    - - - - -

Uncontracted paroemiacs and unresolved dochmiacs are rhythms so familiar that the ear takes these exaggerated variants without difficulty. But it is clear that such an effect is only possible where the movement is built up of cola, of repetitive phrase-units. Where there is no fairly simple, fairly symmetrical framework of this kind, longs and shorts must be constantly intermingled or the result will be shapeless. And such intermingling is the normal and fundamental habit of quantitative metric; the unmixed sequences are later, derivative variants.

The long syllables are, of course, the stronger of the two ingredients—in the metaphorical Greek expression of rhythm in terms of dance-movement they were the *θέσις* and the short syllables the unsteadier *ἄρσις*—and the primary formula for a rhythmic sequence is the enclosure of either one or two shorts between two longs, - - - or - - - - . Each of these can be set in movement in two ways: by repetition or by prolongation.

Repetition gives a series:

- - - - -  
- - - - -

and by the process known as *ἐπιπλοκή* the series may begin from the second (short) syllable, the first long being transferred to the end:

- - - - -  
- - - - -

Prolongation may be single or double: thus - - - is lengthened to - - - - or - - - - - , and - - - to - - - - - or - - - - - . Or it may be of mixed type: thus - - - may increase to - - - - - and - - - to - - - - - . Either of these hexasyllables may again add - - or - - , forming - - - - - , - - - - - etc.; or again the forms - - - - and - - - - - may append - - - and - - respectively, making - - - - - and - - - - - . Longer forms are found, though more rarely, as - - - - - or - - - - - or - - - - - ; no exact limit can be given because of the ambiguity of light *anceps* as explained below. These units all begin and end with longs. Any of them may form a complete period by itself and in that case may prefix or append (or both) *elementum anceps* x - - - x, x - - - - , - - - - x, etc. When two or more join to form a composite period, the whole

period may prefix or append (or both) *elementum anceps*. The units forming the period may either be simply juxtaposed as in  $x- - - | - - - x- - - - - - - - | - - -$ , or they may be linked together by *elementum anceps*:  $x- - - x- - - x, - - - - - - - x- - -$ . Where the link-*anceps* takes the short form it is not always possible to distinguish a composite from a prolonged form: thus  $- - - - -$  may represent a doubly prolonged  $- - -$  or  $- - - x- - -$ .

The single-short  $- - -$  may form a series with initial and link *anceps*  $x- - - x- - - x- - - \dots$  or (by *ἐπιπλοκή* of this) with link and final *anceps*  $- - - x- - - x- - - x- - - \dots$ . The double-short  $- - -$  cannot be so treated, but in compensation may form a series by prolongation  $- - - - - - - - - - -$  (this  $- - -$  cannot do); since, however, no period can end on a true short it must always run out in a blunt  $- - -$  or add final *anceps*  $- - - x$ . This series may also by *ἐπιπλοκή* run  $- - - - - - - - - - - (x)$ .

The initial long of any unit may be omitted at the opening of a period;<sup>1</sup> thus  $- - -$  may take the form  $- -$  (and the combination  $- - | - -$ , therefore,  $- - | - -$ ) and  $- - - - -$  may become  $- - - -$ , or  $- - - - -$  appear as  $- - - -$ .

A period may be formed by one unit, by a series, or by the juxtaposition (with or without link) of units. Only the series is analytically divisible into metra; the regularity of such movement may be slightly obscured by resolution, by the device of syncope (i.e. the omission of short or *anceps*) in the series (x)  $- - - x- - - x- - - \dots$ , by contraction in the series (-)  $- - - - - - - - - - -$ , and by contraction or anaclassis in the series  $- - - - - - - - - - -$ . A period formed by juxtaposition of units can be analysed only into its component units. The junctions are betrayed either by the occurrence of two consecutive long syllables (the final long of one element and the initial long of the next) or by the sequence long—*anceps*—long, though as we saw above a short *anceps* may sometimes be indistinguishable from a true short. Resolution of a long may occasionally also produce some ambiguity of division. It should be noted that the occurrence of three or more consecutive shorts always implies resolution, that except in a series two consecutive longs means the junction of two units, and that (except in a contracted series) in an apparent sequence of three longs the middle one is always *anceps*. In no circumstances can *anceps* follow *anceps*, nor can it follow or precede a short (except a short by resolution), in the middle of a period.<sup>2</sup> *Anceps* in the middle of a period is generally a link-*anceps*, but in some cases is to be accounted a 'drag', i.e. the optional substitution of a long for a single-short within a unit. (This phenomenon will be examined later.)

## 3

The above is a brief systematization of the *facts* of metric in Greek lyric verse; that is to say, in all verse that was sung, excluding verse spoken or given in recitative—roughly speaking, 'stichic' verse. It makes no attempt to consider the phenomena historically or (so far) to distinguish between one kind of lyric and another. The historical approach is a dangerous one; we do indeed know the relative dates of most of the poets whose works are extant, but of anything which could be described as reliable evidence of developments or influences there is little trace.<sup>3</sup> Each kind of

<sup>1</sup> In the dochmiacs of drama, which appear (*v. infra*) to be a late creation of a special character, this licence is extended to the middle of a period also.

<sup>2</sup> The one exception to this rule is that in dramatic lyric (particularly in Sophocles) a dactylic tetrameter can be followed by a colon starting with *anceps*, e.g.  $- - - - - - - - - - - | x- - - - -$ . These must of course fall

within the same period, since no period can end  $- - -$ . This exception indicates that colon-end, even where it cannot be followed by a full pause in the technical sense, has more separating effect than the end of a phrase-unit in the 'periodic' style.

<sup>3</sup> Only the process of decay of metrical vitality in Greek lyric can to some extent be followed.

lyric, solo, choral, dramatic, dawns upon us in perfected metrical technique; of its origins we know nothing, and of its development only the differences of style between its different practitioners. To attempt to trace influences from one kind to another is even more speculative; apart from an occasional guess we can only note what they have in common and where they differ. Theories of evolution from some imagined 'Urvers' or various types of Urvers are purely fanciful constructions; and in particular the doctrine of a more primitive and popular type of versification which at first kept a constant number of longs while putting in single or double shorts indifferently, and only later (and with occasional backsliding) tightened up its regulations, destroys the whole structure and principle of quantitative rhythm, which is based upon the absolute distinction of  $- \cup -$  and  $- \cup \cup -$ .<sup>1</sup>

The account here given, however, remains artificial and schematic until supplemented by an examination of its relevance to the different kinds of lyric. Here it must be admitted that 'different kinds of lyric' does in the end, given the relatively small amount of material available outside Pindar and the dramatic poets, resolve itself into 'different poets', or at least groups of poets. Textual uncertainties, especially where we have to rely upon a single source of quotation and responding lines are lacking or scantily available, often make close metrical analysis or argument a rash undertaking. But some general distinctions of style emerge. Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides are recognizably of one group, the tragedians and comedians another, the Lesbians a third. Skolia approximate most closely to the Lesbian style. The fragments of Stesichorus appear to hover somewhere between the first two groups; Alcman, Ibycus, Corinna, and Anacreon have most in common with the dramatic poets. Thus monody, dramatic choruses, and non-dramatic choral lyric do not separate neatly. It is true that in strophic responson the general rule is that solo-lyric is monostrophic, the choruses of drama repeat *aabb* . . ., and at least the more elaborate kinds of other choral lyric are composed in triads. But this inquiry is concerned with the inner composition of the strophe, which is not affected by such 'outer responson' except in so far as period-end is more difficult to determine with limited responson. The highest degrees of complexity in metrical construction are limited to choral lyric; the simplest forms are found in comedy because some of its lyric is least removed from stichic verse. A further complication is the spread-over of dactylo-epitrite, which to judge by its great preponderance in choral lyric must have originated as a metre for formal song and dance; it is taken over in tragedy and comedy and in some cases half-assimilated to the more familiar dramatic technique, and in his lampoon of Themistocles Timocreon of Rhodes uses it for what must have been a solo-rendering. Dactylo-epitrite might be described as the simplest type of the complex periodic style of composition, and it will be convenient to start the investigation from this metre.

Not the least of Maas's services to classical scholarship is his invention of a system of notation for regular dactylo-epitrites which cuts straight through the tangle of unreal perplexities about 'mixed scansion' or 'quadrisyllabic scansion' and the exact difference between epitrite and trochaic. It also, by discarding the received terminology, exonerates us from deciding whether, for instance,  $- \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup -$  should be divided 'prosodiac+iambic' or 'paroemiac+cretic'. The 'dactylic' or double-short unit  $- \cup \cup - \cup \cup -$  is symbolized by D, and the 'epitrite'  $- \cup -$  by e.<sup>2</sup> Initial, link, and final *anceps* is written in, the line quoted above, for example,

<sup>1</sup> For the apparent contradiction in the comic trimeter see my *Lyric Metres of Greek Drama*, pp. 77-8.

<sup>2</sup> I omit Maas's double epitrite E ( $- \cup - \cup - \cup -$ ), finding it sometimes rather unhelpful, e.g. should

the fairly common 'stesichorean' be E  $\cup$  e ( $\cup$ ) or e  $\cup$  E ( $\cup$ )? Neither is so satisfactory as e  $\cup$  e  $\cup$  e ( $\cup$ ). My reason for not using d for the occasional  $- \cup \cup -$  is simply to keep clear of my own symbols d and s introduced later.

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appearing as -D-e. This method of presentation is more than a mere convenience; it exemplifies what I believe to be the true theory of all metrical composition in the 'periodic' style.<sup>1</sup>

Dactylo-epitrite is the easiest starting-point here because it is mostly limited to two units, the simple -υ- and the 'prolonged' double-short -υυ-υυ-, and because the *anceps* mostly takes the long form. The varying combinations of these, with or without initial, link, and final *anceps* and in a variety of lengths, produce a supple, stately, yet changeable rhythm, quite easy to grasp. Its flowing motion is due to the very frequent use of link *anceps*, so that the harder impact of blunt against blunt at a junction of units (-υυ-|-υ, etc.) is not too often heard. The effectiveness of the rhythm depends upon its deployment over the space of the whole period, and is diminished if the period is chopped up into cola.<sup>2</sup> Bacchylides, it is true, tends to use his units, at least D and e-e (e by itself is too short for this purpose) more nearly as cola, by a moderately regular diaeresis immediately before or after link *anceps*, but Pindar is at some trouble to avoid this break. *Pyth.* 12, a monostrophic ode, is simple and regular, even repetitive, in its periods to a degree altogether unusual in Pindar, but the tendency to manipulate word-end so as to keep the period from splitting into balancing segments is unmistakable.

Αἰτέω σε, φιλάγλαε, καλλίστα βροτεῶν πολίων,	- D - D
Φερσεφόνας ἔδος, ἃ τ' ὄχθαις ἐπὶ μηλοβότου	D - D
ναίεις Ἀκράγαντος εὐδματον κολωνᾶν, ὦ ἄνα,	- D - e - e
Ἰλαος ἀθανάτων ἀνδρῶν τε σὺν εὐμενίᾳ	D - D
δέξαι στεφάνωμα τόδ' ἐκ Πυθῶνος εὐδόξῳ Μῖδᾳ,	- D - e - e
αὐτόν τέ νιν Ἑλλάδα νικάσαντα τέχνη τάν ποτε	- D - e - e
Πάλλας ἐφεῦρε θρασείαν Γοργόνων	D - e
οὐλίον θρήνον διαπλέξαις Ἀθάνα·	e - e - e -

The metrical scholiast gives this verse fourteen cola, by splitting each of the first six periods into two; for the last two lines, which resist such even division, he has labels ready as they stand, the 'encomiologus short of one syllable', and the 'stesichorean' (trochaic trimeter). The rest runs in monotonously even short cola:

- - υ υ - υ υ -  
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<sup>1</sup> I should here make it clear that Professor Maas himself disclaims and deprecates all extension of his principles of notation beyond the sphere of practical convenience.

<sup>2</sup> I use the word *colon* in this essay in a sense quite different from that of metrical unit; the unit is simply an analytical division, the colon a self-sufficient rhythmical phrase. A unit of the

longer sort, such as -υυ-υυ- or -υ-υυ-υ-, may of course be a colon just as a unit or a colon may be a period. But in the 'periodic' style of composition there is nothing between the unit and the period, and the attempt to find segments recognizable—and nameable—as cola quite often makes the cut in the middle of a unit.

There is no obvious reason for the variation by which the penultimate pair is divided paroemiac+troch. dim. cat. rather than ---+iamb. dim. like the rest, nor for the curious divergence in the descriptions of ---: the first is 'spondee+pyrrhic+trochee+iamb' and the second, fourth, fifth, and ninth are all said to be the same as the first, but the eighth is 'major ionic+choriamb', and the eleventh is 'prosodiac with an added syllable'.

In so regular an ode as this, however, apart from the check on the flowing line of the rhythm, no great violence is done by the division into cola. Where the periods are of more irregular length, or where other units appear among the normal --- and ---, the division may be more destructive. In the epode of *Nem.* 1, both the simple --- and the triple --- occur, and the periods are uneven to a degree incomprehensible to an eye trying to normalize them into cola:

50	ταχὺ δὲ Καδμείων ἀγοὶ χαλκείῃς σὺν ὄπλοις ἔδραμον	---e-D <sup>1</sup>
	ἄθροοι,	e
	ἐν χειρὶ δ' Ἀμφιτρυῶν κολεοῦ γυμνὸν τινάσσων φάσγανον	D---e-e
	ἴκετ', ὀξείαις ἀνίαισι τυπείς. τὸ γὰρ οἰκεῖον πιέζει πάνθ' ὁμῶς.	e-D---e-e
	εὐθὺς δ' ἀπήμων κραδία κᾶδος ἀμφ' ἀλλότριον.	-e---e-e

The scholiast's version of this is

---e---  
 ---  
 ---  
 ---  
 ---  
 ---  
 ---

The minimum period --- is so unexpected that he has ignored the final *brevis in longo* in ἔδραμον --- (admittedly this occurs only in the third epode) and added ἄθροοι as --- to make a 'dactylic hephthemimer' of the second colon. Yet he has broken up the two authentic instances of --- and produced 'ionic trim. cat.' and 'ionic dim.' for the fourth and sixth cola, while for the penultimate he has an even more inappropriate 'metrizing' description, 'troch. trim. brachycatalectic' (---|---|---), in order to keep it in tune with the final 'troch. dim. cat.'

A period of dactylo-epitrite may genuinely open with ---, as in the first line of *Ol.* 7 *φιάλαν ὡς εἴ τις ἀφνειᾷς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἑλὼν* ---, but this does not of course mean the intrusion of an 'ionic dim.' (anacreontic) on foreign ground; it occurs on the principle stated in § 2 that the *initial* unit of any period may open headless. --- is a headless ---, just as in *Pyth.* 3 the final period of the epode *μεταμῶνία θηρεύων ἀκράντοις ἐπίσω* opens with a headless (---) --- (not with an anapaestic metron), and *Ol.* 6. 6 begins ---e--- instead of e-e---.

It is not surprising that the ancient metricians, working with this miscellaneous collection of cola—iambic, trochaic, dactylic, ionic, choriambic, iambelegus, etc.—failed to recognize the unity of this large dactylo-epitrite class of metres, and have nowhere recorded that more than half of the epinicians, together with a large but now unspicifiable proportion of the rest of choral lyric (e.g. all surviving fragments of Pindar's hymns, prosodia, and threnoi, most of his encomia and many dithyrambs, with about the same proportion of extant Bacchylides and a good deal of Simonides) are all written in the same type of metre.

<sup>1</sup> This resolution of --- is fairly common in dact.-epit. and is usually carried through all the strophic repetitions. Contraction of the double-

short is much rarer, and there is no certain instance in Pindar; for *Nem.* 8. 1 see the second instalment of this article.

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The combined straightforwardness and flexibility of dactylo-epitrite doubtless encouraged its widespread use. It could carry words of any prosodic form, it was easily grasped, and its rhythm was utterly distinct from the metrizing technique of stichic verse. Its origins are of course untraceable; the earliest certainly known to us is found in Stesichorus. Some of his scanty fragments (those from his *Oresteia*, for instance, parodied by Aristophanes in the *Peace*) seem to have been already of completely orthodox form; others which appear to contain some unusual elements (e.g. *καὶ τριγάρους τίθησιν* - - - - fr. 17 D<sup>2</sup>) may be evidence for an early, less regularized manner of composition, but it would be unwise to build too much theory on so unverifiable a text. No fragments are long enough to show with any certainty whether Stesichorus' long dactylic and dactylo-anapaestic series were mingled with single-short periods or units and if so whether the result bore any resemblance to dactylo-epitrite with longer runs of each kind. Certainly some lines that can be made into extracts of dactylo-epitrite appear to have a higher proportion of double-short than most later verse of this kind; so fr. 10 D from the *Helen*

πολλὰ μὲν Κυδώνια μᾶλα ποτερρίπτειν ποτὶ δῖφρον ἄνακτι,	e - D - D -
πολλὰ δὲ μύρσινα φύλλα καὶ ῥοδίνους στεφάνους	D - D
ἴων τε κορωνίδας οὐλας.	- D -

and possibly fr. 22

παιγμοσύνας <τε> φιλεῖ μολπὰς τ' Ἀπόλλων.	D - e -
κάδεα δὲ στοναχὰς τ' Ἄϊδας ἔλαχεν.	D - - - -

This last line, if it is really dactylo-epitrite, has one parallel in Pindar:

Οὐρανίδα γόνον εὐρυμέδοντα Κρόνου - - - - -

(*Pyth.* 3. 4). This should, I think, be interpreted as the maximum prolongation of - - - -. Pindar nowhere exceeds this double-short length in any kind of metre; that is to say, he makes no use of the dactylo-anapaestic 'series' described in § 2. Stesichorus and Simonides (e.g. fr. 40 D and probably fr. 28) both use the dactylo-anapaestic series; Bacchylides (fr. 21) has unbroken trochaics with light *anceps*. With these exceptions I can find no use of composition in series in these poets, and thus descriptions in terms of 'metra' are strictly speaking inapplicable to the general run of periodic composition.

When Bacchylides addresses an encomion to Alexander son of Amyntas (fr. 20b Snell) in dactylo-epitrite quatrains of this form:

ὦ βάρβιτε, μηκέτι πάσσαλον φυλάσσω	- D - e -
ἐπτάτονον λυγυρὰν κάππαυε γάρυν·	D - e -
δεῦρ' ἐς ἐμὰς χέρας· ὀρμαίνω τι πέμπειν	D - e -
χρῦσεον Μουσᾶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πτέρον . . .	e - e - e

the distinction between the style of choral lyric and Lesbian monody is at vanishing point. Each of the first three lines is a combination of two units and the fourth of three 'epitrites', but the effect is of a simple repetitive arrangement of periods only distinguishable from cola by their composite nature and somewhat greater average length. *Anceps* at the end of a period is never followed by *anceps* at the beginning of the next, so that the carry-over is perfectly smooth. The middle two lines are metrically exactly similar to the two encomiologici of Alcaeus (fr. 40 D<sup>2</sup>) quoted by Hephaestion as the first two lines of a poem:

\*Ηρ' ἔτι Δινομένη τῷ τ' Ὑρρακῇ  
τᾶρμενα λάμπρα κέοντ' ἐν Μυρσινήῳ;

This welding of two units into a whole which by balanced repetition becomes so familiar that it has the effect of a single phrase is characteristic of Lesbian monody,

though, as we shall see, its favourite combination is not the dactylo-epitrite pair - ∪ - and - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ -, but - ∪ - and - ∪ ∪ - ∪ -.

In the dramatic poets dactylo-epitrite gives the nearest approach to the periodic style of composition, and is sometimes indeed (e.g. *P.V.* 526-44, *Med.* 410-30) hardly distinguishable in technique from the more regular of the Pindaric stanzas. But in general it is much more apt to combine the units in pairs after the manner of the Bacchylides quoted above; further, it allows an occasional admixture of alien cola, particularly as clausulae. Thus the effect is to approximate these stanzas after all to the prevailing dramatic manner of composition by cola. *Med.* 824 ff. is typical:

Ἐρεχθεῖδαι τὸ παλαιὸν ὄλβιοι	∪ D ∪ e
καὶ θεῶν παῖδες μακάρων, ἱεράς	e - D
χώρας ἀπορρήτου τ' ἄπο, φερβόμενοι	- e - D
κλεινοτάταν σοφίαν, αἰεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου	D - D
βαίνοντες ἀβρῶς αἰθέρος, ἔνθα ποθ' ἀγνός	- e - D -
ἐννέα Πιερίδας Μούσας λέγουσι	D - e -
ξανθὰν Ἀρμονίαν φυτεύσαι.	hipponactean

Neither in strophe nor in antistrophe is there any formal clue to period-end—hiatus or *brevis in longo* or final followed by initial *anceps*. Yet there is no ambiguity; the balance of the lines imposes the divisions unequivocally upon our ear. The modification of the prevailing rhythm in the final clausula is a technique very common in dramatic choruses; in dactylo-epitrite this often takes the form of prolonging the last - ∪ - (-) unit into the ithyphallic - ∪ - ∪ - -. This prolongation is not used by Pindar in pendant form, and not as a clausula (since such closing modification is not a very common characteristic of the 'periodic' manner), but the blunt - ∪ - ∪ - occurs in *Nem.* 8. 14 ἀστῶν θ' ὑπὲρ τῶν δ' ἄπτομαι φέρων - e - ∪ - ∪ - -, and the - ∪ - - - of *Pyth.* 9. 2 σὺν βαθυζώνουσιν ἀγγέλλων is a 'dragged' version of the same unit (cf. *Pyth.* 1. 3 πείθονται δ' αἰοῖδοι σάμασιν - - - ∪ - - e). Ariphron in his fourth-century hymn to Hygieia uses - ∪ - ∪ - both pendant and prosyllabic,<sup>1</sup> and this variant on e is of course of analogous form to - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - as a variant on D.

Soph. *Aj.* 172 ff. is a more subtle study of the modification of dactylo-epitrite to suit dramatic technique:

ἦ ρά σε Ταυροπόλα Διὸς Ἄρτεμιν,	dact tetram. D e - e
ὦ μεγάλη φάτις, ὦ μήτηρ αἰσχύνας ἐμᾶς,	
ῶρμασε πανδάμους ἐπὶ βοῦς ἀγελαίας,	- e - D -
ἦ ποῦ τινος νίκας ἀκάρπτωτον χάριν,	- e - e - e
ἦ ρα κλυτῶν ἐνάρων	D
ψευσθεῖς, ἀδύροις εἴτ' ἐλαφαβολαίς;	- e - D
ἦ χαλκοθώραξ εἴ τι' Ἐννάλιος	- e - D
μομφὰν ἔχων ξυνοῦ δорὸς ἐννεχίοις	- e - D
μαχαναῖς ἐτείσατο λώβαν;	- ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ -

The thrice-recurring iambelegus is a familiar colon in dramatic lyric outside dactylo-epitrite; the opening rhythm is a dactylic 'series', and - e - e - e has the form of a lyric iambic trimeter; the clausula is an aeolic enneasyllable like the hipponactean. The whole effect, though most of it can be expressed in dactylo-epitrite symbols, is singularly different from dactylo-epitrite written in the periodic style.

A. M. DALE.

(To be continued.)

<sup>1</sup> Wil. *G.V.*, p. 495, makes much to-do over the 'schwieriger Vers' ∪ | - ∪ - ∪ - | - D (with prosyllabic - ∪ - ∪ -). I do not know why.

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# THE MICHIGAN ALCIDAMAS-PAPYRUS; HERACLITUS FR. 56D; THE RIDDLE OF THE LICE

## § 1

DURING the excavations of 1924-5 at Karanis a papyrus (Michigan 2745) of the second or early third century A.D. was discovered, and subsequently published by J. G. Winter ('A New Fragment on the Life of Homer', *Trans. Am. Philol. Ass.*, lvi, 1925, 120 ff. and pl. A), which under its single column has a subscribed title which should almost certainly be restored as 'Alcidamas, On Homer'.<sup>1</sup> The first fourteen lines of the papyrus give most of the story of Homer's death and the riddle that caused it, which is common to all the extant Lives of Homer;<sup>2</sup> the remainder is a general eulogy of Homer and a profession of transmitting his works to posterity. The interest of the discovery lies in the knowledge that it gives of a hitherto unrecorded work by Alcidamas, the rhetorician and contemporary of Isocrates, and the new fuel that it provides for an old controversy about the origins of the work known as the *Certamen*. The first part of this article aims at both re-examining the value of the papyrus and reopening some of the old questions on the *Certamen*.

Before giving the text of the papyrus it may be helpful to recapitulate the story of the controversy, on which see also Winter, loc. cit. The *Certamen* consists of a Life of Homer (similar in character and substance to the other Lives) into which the main part, the Contest of Homer and Hesiod or Agon proper, has been inserted, with a Life of Hesiod at the end; in its present form it must have been compiled after Hadrian, whom it mentions (§ 3). Nietzsche, *Rh. Mus.* xxv. 563 ff., advanced the theory that the original source of the work was the *Μουσείον* of Alcidamas, on the grounds that (1) the couplet ἀρχὴν μὲν μὴ φῶναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον, | φόντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀΐδαο περῆσαι, which occurs in *Certamen* § 7, was attributed by Stobaeus to the *Μουσείον*; (2) the same work is mentioned in *Certamen* § 14 as source of a story about the fate of Hesiod's murderers. The comparatively early date of a part at least of the *Certamen* was proved by Mahaffy's publication in 1891 of a papyrus of the third century B.C. (P. Petrie I. 25. 1: Wilamowitz 45 f., Allen 225) containing, with few variations, most of *Certamen* §§ 6-9, i.e. part of the Agon proper. However,

<sup>1</sup> Winter's assertion that, in the subscribed title, 'Ἀλκιδάμαντος is a certain restoration', is perhaps not beyond dispute, although it is probably true. No other author whose name was composed of 3 or 4 letters before -δαμᾶς is known to have written on Homer; but as Körte observes, there is no other evidence for a special treatise by Alcidamas entitled περὶ 'Ομήρου, and the lines from the *Certamen* are referred by Stobaeus to his *Μουσείον*. It may be that this work was the source of the papyrus, and that the copyist, writing half a millennium later than Alcidamas, made the same sort of mistake as those doxographers who gave the title περὶ Φύσεως to any early philosophical work. The character of the *Μουσείον* is a matter for dispute, but it was clearly a heterogeneous work which dealt not only with Homer.

<sup>2</sup> The most recent editions of the Lives are by T. W. Allen, in the fifth volume of the Oxford

text of Homer, and Wilamowitz, in *Vitae Homeri et Hesiodi*, Bonn, 1916; of these the second is much the sounder, although it omits both Tzetzes' accounts of Homer's death; references are to it unless otherwise specified. The *Certamen* is printed in full in both these editions, as in Rzsch's edition of Hesiod, Teubner, 1908. In the edition of Wilamowitz the Lives are given Westermann's original numbering: (I) Ps.-Herodotus. (II) Ps.-Plutarch, two versions. (III) Proclus. (IV) The anonymous Escorial Life, first version. (V) The anonymous Escorial Life, second and fuller version. (VI) The anonymous Muretan or Roman Life. (VII) The Life in Suidas, taken in part from Hesychius. (VIII) The *Certamen*. To these should be added the version preserved in two accounts of Tzetzes: *Chil.* xiii, 626 ff. Kiessling and *Exeg. in Iliadem*, p. 37 Hermann, the former being in Allen's edition.

E. Meyer, *Hermes*, xxvii, 1892, 377 ff., pointed out that the references to Alcidas' *Μουσεῖον* showed no more than that Alcidas quoted an apparently well-known couplet (πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι κτλ. at Theognis 425, with added pentameter verses) and mentioned a perhaps common story about the death of Hesiod; Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer*, 400 f., agreed. In fact Meyer believed that the Agon was older than Alcidas, for another couplet, *Certamen* § 9,

δείπνον ἐπειθ' εἵλοντο βοῶν κρέα καυχένας ἔππων  
—ἐκλυον ἰδρώνοντας, ἐπεὶ πολέμου ἐκορέσθην

occurs in a slightly different form in Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1282 f.; he held that an Agon had been handed down by rhapsodes from as far back as the sixth or seventh century, while Wilamowitz conceded that 'Der Agon ist ein rechtes Volksbuch, gemischt aus Versen und Prosa'. A plausible compromise was achieved by Busse, *Rh. Mus.* lxiv, 1909, 108-19, and Allen, *Homer, Origins and Transmission*, 11-42, who agreed that Alcidas was the source of the Agon as we have it, but that he used earlier material in its composition. Busse held this material to be familiar school-exercises in improvisation, from the fifth century; while Allen approached more closely to the view of Meyer and Wilamowitz in his contention that Alcidas depended upon biographical poetry on Homer invented and transmitted by the guild of Homeridae, and he even proposed Lesches of Lesbos as the author of the original Agon on the strength of an extremely hazardous interpretation of Plutarch, *Sept. Sapient. Conviv.* 153 F.<sup>1</sup> The hypothesis of a Homeric biography, but of a later date perhaps than the seventh century, is a good one: it may explain the fact that the Ps.-Herodotean *Life*<sup>2</sup> contains, in addition to quotations from known epic poems, a number of lines spoken by Homer which are written in a good epic style and which, as Allen says (op. cit. 18 f.), cannot on the ground of their subject be attributed to the Cycle.

The text of the Michigan papyrus is given below, in a version which does not always follow Winter's. Körte, *Archiv f. Papyrusforschung*, viii, 1927, 261-4, and D. L. Page, in his additions to the Loeb *Hesiod*, revised edition 1936, 624-7, made a

<sup>1</sup> The relevant passage is as follows, according to the edition of Paton and Wegehaupt, Teubner, 1925, and to Wilamowitz: ἐπεὶ . . . ἦ τε δόξα τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν [Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου] πολλὴν ἀπορίαν μετὰ αἰδοῦς τοῖς κρίνουσι παρέχεν, ἐτράποντο πρὸς τοιαύτας ἐρωτήσεις καὶ προύβαλε μὲν, ὡς φασί, Λέσχης: Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπ' ἐκεῖνα, τὰ μὴτ' ἐγένοντο παροῖθεν | μὴτ' ἔσται μετόπισθεν' ἀπεκρίνατο δὲ Ἡσιόδος κτλ. Allen read ὡς φησι Λέσχης, after Wyttenbach: but O (a reasonably good emended version of the archetype) is alone in giving φησι. φασί is the reading of QhJ nWB, of which Q is one of the two soundest MSS. QB also have προύβαλε μὲν: O has προβάλομεν, which supplies the authority for Allen's προύβαλ' ὁ μὲν. The reading φασί involves the omission of Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου as a gloss: so Wilamowitz; cf. *Il. u. Homer*, 405. Thus Lesches becomes a fellow-competitor; this, so far from being a difficulty, accords better with the introductory sentence of Periander, who is speaking: ἀκούομεν ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὰς Ἀμφιδάμαντος ταφὰς εἰς Χαλκίδα τῶν τότε σοφῶν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι ποιηταὶ συνήλθον. The last four words suggest to me more than two competitors. According to Clement, *Strom.* i. 131. 6,

Lesches had a contest with Arctinus: Plutarch had in any case doubted the authenticity of the Amphidamas-passage at *Erga* 654 ff., and would not be particularly concerned over the accuracy of Periander's story.

<sup>2</sup> The composition of this *Life* is dated by Allen, op. cit. 16 ff., to about the time of Hadrian; Wilamowitz, however, *Ilias u. Homer*, 415 f., suggested the end of the Hellenistic period. His two chief reasons for this date are 'die lebendige hellenistische Rede' and a reference to the Athenian archon-list in the last chapter of the *Life*, which, he holds, would not have been made by anyone writing in Imperial times, when chronology was determined by Olympiads. The first reason is very subjective, and the second, frail as it is, entirely leaves out of account the deliberate archaization of ps.-Herodotus. On the whole the Hadrianic period is much the more likely for the composition of this *Life*: thus there is no reason so far for dating the immediate common source of all the *Lives* (see below, p. 155, n. 1) earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.

number of fresh suggestions; like the present writer they were working from Winter's photograph and not the original. Possible restorations of l. 20 are discussed below.

- οι δε ορφντες[ς αυ]τον εσχεδιασαν τονδε [το]ν  
 στιχον οσσ ελ[αβ]ο[ν] λ[ι]πομεσθ' οσσ ουκ ελαβον  
 φερομε[σ]θα ο δε ου δνγαμενος ευρειν το λε  
 χθεν ηρετο αυτους [ο τι] λεγοιεν οι δε εφασαν ε  
 5 φ αλκειαν οιχομενο[ι αγγ]ευσαι μεν ουδεν καθη  
 μεν[ο] [δ]ε φ[θ]ειρ[ι]ζεσ[θ]αι των δε φθειρων ους ελα  
 βον αυτου κατα[λ]ιποιεν ους δ ουκ ελαβον εντ  
 τοις τριβωσιν εναποφερειν αναμνησθεις δε  
 του μαντε[ιο]υ [οτι] η καταστροφη αυτωι το[υ]  
 10 βιου ηκεν π[οι]ει εις εαυτον επιγραμ[μ]α το[δ]ε  
 ενθαδ[ε] την ιε[ρη]ν κεφαλην κατα γαια καλυ  
 ψε ανθρωπων ηρων κοσμητορα θειον Ομηρ[ο]ν  
 και αν[α]χωρω<sup>ν</sup> παλhou οντος ολισθανει και πε  
 σων επι πλευραν ουτως φασιν ετελευτησεν  
 15 περι τουτου μεν ουν ποιεισθαι την αρετην ποι  
 ησομεν μαλιστα δ' ορων τους ιστορικούς θαν  
 μαζομενους Ο(μ)ηρος γουν δια τουτο και ζων  
 και αποθανων τετιμηται παρα πασιν ανθρω  
 ποις ταυτη[ν] ουν αυτω της παιδιας χαριν α  
 20 ποδιδο[ν]τες \* \* \*<sup>9</sup>ω<sup>ς</sup> αυτου και την αλλη[ν] ποι  
 ησιν δι ακ[ριβ]ειας μνημης τοις βουλομε  
 νοις φ[ι]λοκαλ[ειν] των Ελληνων ει<sup>ς</sup> το κοινον  
 παραδω[μεν]  
 [Αλκι]δαμαντος  
 25 περι Ομηρου

7 εντ τοις for εν τοις. Winter read εν> τοις. 8 εναποφερειν Körte, Page: ε[ν]θ αποφερειν Winter.  
 15 πειρασομεθα for ποιησομεν Page. 17 Ομηρος Winter: οδγος Körte. Page agrees with K. that  
 δ not μ was written, but counts it a mere slip. 19 ταυτη[ς] Körte. 20 αποδιδω[μεν] αγγωνος  
 Winter: αποδιδο[ν]τες το γε[νος] Page. 21 ακ[ριβ]ειας Körte, Page: αγ[χιστ]ειας Winter. 22  
 φ[ι]λοκαλ[ειν] Hunt.

The account of ll. 1-14 corresponds so closely with that in *Certamen* § 18 that either direct interdependence or a common source must be acknowledged: see p. 164 where the two accounts are set out side by side. Grammatical errors by the copyist are frequent: ελαβον for ελαβομεν (properly ελομεν) in l. 2, καταλιποιεν for καταλιπειν in l. 7, καλυψε for καλυπτει in ll. 11-12 (so in the Herodotean Life), παλhou for πηλου in l. 13, ορων for ορωντες in l. 16. Körte, in his sane and succinct account of the papyrus, observes that there are seven instances of hiatus in these fourteen lines, some of them extremely inelegant. Alcidas, however, entirely avoided hiatus, and indeed in the rest of the papyrus hiatus is absent. Körte draws the conclusion that 'Alkidamas in dem ausgeschriebenen Stück ein altes Volksbuch genau wiedergibt': but if this passage is not by Alcidas there is a second alternative, that it is a later interpolation. Before considering this question, ll. 15-23 must be examined. The Greek presents serious difficulties; it is written in a tortuous and pretentious style which accords well with what we know of Alcidas' writings—Aristotle's criticisms in *Rhetoric* Γ 3. 1406a seem to be well deserved. Lines 15-16 and 19-20 defy any certain translation,

and may call for emendation; even so serious difficulties remain. Alternative readings and translations of the former passage are as follows:

1. *περὶ τούτου μὲν οὖν ποιείσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν ποιήσομεν* (unemended): (a) Winter translated: 'In regard to this, then, we shall bring it to pass that we win distinction for ourselves.' Such a use of *ποιήσομεν* is practically out of the question. (b) The only possible sense of *ποιήσομεν* here seems to be 'put the case that' (LS<sup>9</sup> A vi; cf. e.g. Hdt. 7. 184), which gives the somewhat strained translation 'we shall put the case then that he lays claim to his reputation for excellence [*or* 'that his reputation is made'] in this respect [referring to some previous assertion that Homer was in a sense the first historian], especially since we see historians admired.' Grammatically, however, it is far more likely that *ποιείσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν* means 'make *our* reputation'.

2. *περὶ τούτου μὲν οὖν ποιείσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν πειρασόμεθα*: 'on this theme, then, we shall endeavour to make our reputation'. So Page, who describes *ποιήσομεν* as 'a mere slip after *ποιείσθαι*'. The mistake is perhaps not such an easy one as this suggests, but certainly the sense given is good.

3. *περὶ τούτου μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀρετὴν ποιήσομεν* (Körte) or . . . *τὴν ἀρετὴν ποιησόμεθα* (I am indebted to Mr. Page for this suggestion, as well as for other criticisms): 'on this subject then we shall show our skill' or ' . . . make our reputation for excellence'. The assumption of some sort of reduplication of a form of *ποιέω* is tempting, although again it is not an obvious mistake as it stands.

Lines 19-20 are even more difficult and, unfortunately, more crucial. Page's *ἀποδιδ[ο]ντες* is clearly correct as against Winter's *ἀποδιδω[μεν]*, which makes an impossible contrast with the aorist subjunctive of *παραδω[μεν]* in l. 23. *χάριν ἀποδιδόντες* should be taken together (as at Isoc. 6. 73: *ἀποδιδόντες χάριν ὧν εὖ πεπόνθασιν*): an ingenious alternative suggested to me by Professor D. S. Robertson, that *ποιησιν* from ll. 20-1 should be understood with *ταυτη[ν]* in l. 19, giving the meaning (with *αγ[ω]νος*) 'publishing then this composition about his contest for the sake of general culture [*or* amusement] let us hand on the other poetry [i.e. Iliad and Odyssey] for aesthetic enjoyment', is vitiated by the lack of another example of *ἀποδιδωμι* = 'publish'—also *αυτου* must be read for *αυτω* in l. 19. The real difficulty of these lines,

however, is the filling of the gap between *ἀποδιδ[ο]ντες* and  $\left. \begin{matrix} \xi \\ \omega \end{matrix} \right\} \text{vos.}$

(A) The solution of Winter was *αγ[ω]νος*, aided no doubt by the assumption that Alcidas was the source of the *Certamen*. The translation in this case would be: 'Giving him then this gratitude for the amusement [*or* 'cultural guidance': *παιδίας* at the period of this papyrus can represent either *παιδίας* or *παιδείας*] of his contest, let us hand on with accurate memory the other poetry to those of the Hellenes who wish to love the beautiful, to be a common possession.' The importance of the reading *ἀγ[ω]νος* is, of course, that if correct it finally establishes that Alcidas mentioned an account of a poetical contest in which Homer took part; it does not, however, establish that he wrote such an account himself, or even that he quoted it in full. Some of the caution of Meyer and Wilamowitz must be retained. In any case the correctness of the reading is highly problematical, as both Körte and Page have observed: *ἀγ[ω]νος* must have had an article, which the copyist has dropped, and even with the article the word-order is extremely difficult, with *τοῦ ἀγ[ω]νος* separated by the participial clause from the noun—*τῆς παιδ(ε)ίας*—which it qualifies.

(B) Page in the Loeb text prints *ἀποδιδ[ο]ντες τὸ γέ[ν]ος* (strictly *ἀποδιδ[ο]ντες τὸ γ[έν]ος*) *αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ποιήσιν κτλ.*, and translates the passage: 'Let us then thank him thus for his playful entertainment; and as for his origin and the rest of his poetry, let us hand them down . . .' However, although he claims that there is sufficient space for all these letters, it appears that his reading would in fact involve over-



crowding. No less than seven letters must be fitted into the gap, yet nowhere else in the papyrus (which, although grammatically careless, is quite well written) can more than five and a half, or at the most six, letters be fitted into a similar space: except for six and a half letters from the first part of the word *ιστορικούς* in l. 16, and this solely because of its two iotas, which take exceptionally little room. It might be argued that the article might have been omitted here, as was postulated in the case of *ἀγῶνος*, thus leaving more than enough room for *γένος*; but such an omission would be less likely than that of the genitive article to escape the notice of the copyist, in view of the occurrence of *τὴν* in the parallel phrase *τὴν ἄλλην ποιήσιν*. The coupling of *γένος* and *ποίησις* in the titles or text of late biographies (e.g. Tatian *in Graecos*, § 31, Otto: *περὶ γὰρ τῆς ποιήσεως τοῦ Ὀμήρου γένους τε αὐτοῦ κτλ.*) is not good evidence for a similar connexion by Alcidas. *γένος* in such a phrase refers specifically to the *genealogy* of the subject: many scholars who might concede that Alcidas handed on the actual Contest part of our *Certamen* would hesitate to believe that the genealogy part had the same transmission. A further objection to reading *γένος* is that it leaves the emphatic *ἄλλην* in the air. This *ἄλλην* requires that *τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ* can in some sense be regarded as *ποίησις*, and as by Homer himself, which is out of the question. Only if the sense is 'and the poetry *besides*' is this difficulty avoided: but this implies a subordination of *ποίησις* to *γένος* which is unlikely in the context, which is, after all, concerned with Homer as a *ποιητής*. In short, the missing word or words must refer to some part of Homer's literary production *if* the first clause ends at *ἀποδίδοντες*—which is by no means necessarily the case: cf. (A) above.

(C) Only because of the objections against both the above readings is it worth pointing out, for the sake of completeness, the very slight possibility that the missing word might be *αἰῶνος*. The clause *ταυτῇ[ν] ὅν αὐτῷ τῆς παιδίας χάριν ἀποδίδ[ν]τες αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ κτλ.* would have to be translated thus: 'Giving him then this gratitude for the cultural guidance of his generation [i.e. the generation of the great epic poets, of which he was the chief representative], let us hand on with accurate memory the rest of the poetry also [i.e. non-epic poetry].' (*αἰών* = 'generation, age', at e.g. Aesch. *Septem.* 744; Dem. 18. 199). In this case the extract from Alcidas would originate in a work like the *Μουσεῖον* which dealt with poetry in general and not only with Homer: see p. 149, n. 1, above. The objections against this reading are the omission of an article, as in (A), and the highly unnatural word-order. These quite outweigh the advantage of allowing *ἄλλην* to have its full natural emphasis.

None of the solutions suggested seems at all satisfactory, and a certain restoration remains out of the question. Yet I will run the risk of going counter to the judgement of Mr. Page, and declare that in my view (B) is as unlikely as any of the others. Indeed, the acceptance of *γένος* would involve accepting the orthodox view that ll. 1-14 of the papyrus were, if not composed, at least quoted by Alcidas. This I am entirely unwilling to do for the reasons which follow.

It has already been shown that the frequent hiatus in the first part of the Michigan papyrus indicates that it is not by Alcidas himself, but is either a quotation by him from an earlier source or a later interpolation. Since Alcidas in the second part of the papyrus apparently mentions the Agon of Homer and Hesiod, and since there are good reasons for believing that some account of an Agon existed before Alcidas, perhaps as a part of the Homerid biographical poetry, it might seem perverse even to consider the likelihood of interpolation. But a consideration of the development of thought in the papyrus-passage produces the impression of an underlying lack of continuity between the part containing hiatus (ll. 1-14) and the part which is free from hiatus (l. 15-end). First, the transition from the factual account of the poet's

<sup>1</sup> Of course the restoration *ταυτῇ[ν]* is not certain; *ταυτῇ[ς]* is an alternative, and may be slightly preferable in the present case.

death to the fanciful and airy peroration of the rhetorician is suspiciously abrupt. Secondly and more specifically, *διὰ τοῦτο* in l. 17 can only refer to the clause *μάλιστα δ' ὀρών(τες) τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θαυματομένους*: in other words, Alcidas here asserts, without further explanation, that Homer was honoured both during and after his lifetime as an *historian*. This is a view which I find quite untypical of the Greek assessment of Homer; it is almost a paradox, and as such must have been elaborated and explained by Alcidas shortly before these lines—in the place where the story of Homer's death now stands. Only so could *διὰ τοῦτο* have been intelligible to Alcidas' readers. Only if the reading *ὀδηγός* is accepted is another interpretation possible, but one which tends to the same conclusion: *ὀδηγός* must mean 'cultural guide', and *διὰ τοῦτο* must then refer to some assertion of Homer's *παιδεία* which originally preceded l. 15. (In fact this possibility need not be seriously considered as *ὀδηγός* is not found before Polybius, and then not quite in this sense.) In brief: sense requires that a passage other than the story of the poet's death should have preceded *περὶ τούτου* in l. 15. The probability is that the copyist or his source inserted before the convenient *περὶ τούτου μὲν οὖν* a separate piece of biography not from Alcidas. This probability is enhanced by two other special considerations:

1. The language of ll. 1-14 appears to be not fifth-century Greek (for if these lines were a quotation by Alcidas, they would have to be put back at least into the fifth century) but *Κωική*. This is indicated by the use of the following words, which are followed in parentheses by the earliest authors in which they occur with the sense required:

(a) *σχεδιάζω* = 'improvise' (Polybius, Diodorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Philodemus). The classical word, and that used frequently by Alcidas himself in *π. τῶν τοὺς γραπτὸς λόγους γραφόντων*, is *αὐτοσχεδιάζω*: here haplography with the immediately preceding *αὐτόν* is a possibility, but such an inelegant juxtaposition is unlikely to have been permitted by Alcidas even in a quotation, or indeed to have been perpetrated in the first instance.

(b) *ἀλεία* (Aristotle twice, Strabo). *ἀλεία* is a still later form.

(c) *φθειρίζομαι* (Aristotle, Theophrastus, Apollodorus). Contrast *φθεῖρας κατακτείνοντας* in Heraclitus fr. 56 (Diels), on which see below, § 2.

(d) *φασὶν* in *οὕτως φασὶν ἐτελέτησεν* at l. 14 smacks of post-Alexandrian scholarship.

2. It is strange that the *Certamen*, the Life part of which names well-known sources, including Alcidas, does not name Alcidas as the immediate source for the story of Homer's death, if this story really was associated with him at about the time when the *Certamen* was written.

These special arguments for regarding the first part of the Michigan papyrus as being later than Alcidas are reinforced by certain general considerations. It is really most improbable that a *circumstantial* prose biography of Homer should have existed as early as the fifth century. The magic name *Volksbuch*, never very clearly defined, does much to hide this improbability; conceivably the story of the riddle, in association with Homer, was in popular circulation, although this is not proved by the fact that Heraclitus knew of it over in Asia Minor; but the detailed and circumstantial account of the papyrus smacks of the study rather than of the gymnasium or the forge. The probability of a Homeric verse-biography at this date has already been conceded; but that even the substance of the papyrus description was to be found there is discounted by the fact that in the Herodotean Life, which seems to have made use of this Homeric poetry, the lice-riddle is dissociated from it by being quoted in prose, while the hexameter form is an appendage introduced by the words *οἱ δὲ φασὶ μέτρῳ εἰπεῖν*. In the fifth century the interest in Homer as a man was very properly bound up with interest in his poetry. The chief problems were his birthplace and the number of his genuine works; the first gave rise to the genealogical speculations of the logographers,

the second to Pindar's story that the *Cypria* was a dowry for Homer's daughter. Admittedly Thucydides did not scorn to retail a story of Hesiod's death; indeed that passion for inventing strange and unseemly deaths for famous people, which is well exemplified in a later period by the chapter of Valerius Maximus, 9. 12, entitled 'De mortibus non ordinariis', may have existed in a minor degree in the classical period; although it cannot be doubted that the most bizarre and developed fictions of this order are the products of the Hellenistic taste. Admittedly, too, the lice-riddle was associated with Homer as early as Heraclitus—although it was not then necessarily connected with his death. But even though that story is pure fiction and cannot have had, like many of the other early mentions of Homer's life, any motive or source in the Homeric poems themselves, yet in degeneracy of style it falls very short of the trivial and gratuitous details about the poet slipping on mud, falling on his side, and so on. It is one thing if the Michigan papyrus tells us that Alcidas mentioned and perhaps quoted an account of a traditional Agon between the two great epic poets; it is quite another when we are asked to believe that a story of Homer's death which was widely quoted by the Lives, sometimes verbatim, and which fits excellently into the intellectual atmosphere of the first century after Christ,<sup>1</sup> was in fact the product of the end of the fifth century B.C. at the latest. Winter did not feel this difficulty, although he maintains some degree of caution (p. 125): 'On the evidence available we have no right to maintain, as Nietzsche and Busse have done, that Alcidas was the sole source for the entire *Certamen*; that is a view which is extremely improbable. But we are warranted in asserting that Alcidas wrote an account, entitled simply *Περὶ Ὀμήρου*, which was the immediate source of the end of the *Certamen*.' However, it is exactly this assertion which is most difficult to accept; once it is accepted, there seems to be little to prevent one going the whole way and (if an Agon was known to Alcidas) assuming almost the whole of the *Certamen* to be rooted in the early fourth century B.C.

The combination of special and general considerations persuades me that there is a powerful case for doubting the authenticity of ll. 1-14 of the Michigan papyrus, and for supposing that Alcidas made some generalization, now lost, about Homer's character as poet and historian to which *περὶ τούτου* (l. 15) and *διὰ τούτο* (l. 17) refer; and that in the second or early third century A.D. our copyist or his source, thinking that not enough had been said by Alcidas about the material details of his subject's life, and having to hand the biography of the *ὑπόμνημα* which was the main source of all the Lives, interpolated a greater or lesser part of this biography between two consecutive sentences of Alcidas. The major part of the roll may still have been by Alcidas and thus little scruple would be felt in writing the title. According to this theory the close similarity between the first part of the papyrus and the corresponding passage in the *Certamen* is due to their use of a common source of a century or so earlier. The fact that one detail, that Homer died *on the third day*, is preserved by the *Certamen* but omitted by the papyrus is perhaps more easily explicable on this hypothesis.

The possible mention (see (A) on p. 152) of a contest of Homer in the second part of the papyrus is made in a way which shows that Alcidas may have transmitted, but at all events did not claim to have invented, the version of the Agon which occurs in the third century B.C. Petrie papyrus and also in the central section of the *Certamen*. 'Giving to him then this gratitude for the *παίδεια* of his contest' is not the phrase of a

<sup>1</sup> This is the period plausibly suggested by Allen (*Origins*, 33) for the composition of the *ὑπόμνημα* or commentary which is the basis of all the Lives. Aristarchus, Crates, Dionysius of Thrace, are the latest authorities named in the

Lives except the special sources used by Hesychius; they worked in the second century B.C. In the first century A.D. there was a revival both of work on Homer and of the Ionic dialect, in which the Herodotean Life is written.

man who has himself invented the whole or even a part of the account of the contest.<sup>1</sup> Allen, *Origins*, 22 ff., thought that Alcidas himself compiled the gripic part of the Agon (*Certamen*, §§ 8-9), which, however, was ultimately based on an original version by Lesches. The plausibility of the Lesches hypothesis has already been examined; the former supposition is rendered improbable, too, by the language of the papyrus. It is, however, extremely ingenious: 'The rhetor', writes Allen, 'himself a stylist of the first rank, intended to pass a veiled criticism on the style of the post-Homeric epopoei, in particular on the ambiguity of many of their lines taken in themselves: the fault he censured was the failure to include the elements of predication within the stichus. . . . We conclude that Alcidas used the traditional contest between Homer and Hesiod as a vehicle to convey criticism on badly composed verses of the heroic corpus.' Allen supposes, therefore, that the initial lines or couplets here quoted by Hesiod, and the lines added by Homer to complete the sense, were composed continuously by their original authors, who failed to notice any difficulty or absurdity. This supposition derives its strongest support from the fact that the first absurdity, *αὐχένas ἵππων κτλ.*, was quoted continuously by Aristophanes, as already noted. The context is as follows (Trygaeus is horrified that Lamachus' boy can quote nothing but martial poetry): *Peace* 1279 ff.:

- Παῖς. ἀλλὰ τί δῆτ' ἄδω; σὺ γὰρ εἶπέ μοι οἴστισι χαίρεις.  
 Τρυγαῖος. ὥς οἱ μὲν δαίνυντο βοῶν κρέα, καὶ τὰ τοιαυτὰ  
 ἄριστον προτίθεντο καὶ αὐτ' ἥδιστα πάσασθαι.  
 Π. ὥς οἱ μὲν δαίνυντο βοῶν κρέα, καὶ αὐχένas ἵππων  
 ἔκλυον ἰδρώοντας, ἐπεὶ πολέμου ἐκόρεσθην.  
 Τ. εἶεν; ἐκόρεσθην τοῦ πολέμου κᾶτ' ἥσθιον.  
 ταῦτ' ἄδε, ταῦθ', ὥς ἥσθιον κεκορημένοι.

Two points should be noted: first, that the continuation of *ὥς οἱ μὲν δαίνυντο βοῶν κρέα* given by the boy is not that which Trygaeus himself knew and expected; and secondly, that Aristophanes evidently did not find the delay of the verb governing *αὐχένas ἵππων* until the next line difficult, for although he makes Trygaeus criticize these lines, it is solely on the grounds *ὥς ἥσθιον κεκορημένοι*. Or perhaps he chose to ignore the difficulty, and to pick on a different point for criticism by Trygaeus—a point connected with the phrase *ἐπεὶ πολέμου ἐκόρεσθην*, the unexpected introduction of which is the main motive of the passage. The first of these two points may be strongly in favour of the sort of alternative hypothesis to Allen's proposed by Busse (loc. cit.), that the groups of lines cited in this part of the Agon were not composed continuously, but were a heterogeneous collection of epic lines and phrases put together so as to present and then resolve an apparent absurdity. To Trygaeus the words *ὥς οἱ μὲν δαίνυντο βοῶν κρέα* suggested some real epic description of a feast; the boy knew an alternative version from a collection of riddles which may well have circulated in the schools.<sup>2</sup> Further, if Aristophanes is able to overlook any apparent absurdity in this case, yet some of the other examples cited in this gripic section of the Agon are so

<sup>1</sup> 'Giving to him' is not entirely clear: it is probably to Homer as imagined author of the moral pronouncements in the non-gripic parts of the Agon that gratitude is given. The Agon consists of four sections different in character: (i) two straightforward questions by Hesiod, *τί φέρτατόν ἐστι βροτοῖσιν*; and *τί θνητοῖσιν ἄριστον οἶεαι ἐν φρεσὶν εἶναι*; with replies by Homer, the second of which is *Od.* 9. 5-11. (ii) The gripic section, of which the collection of delayed-predicate paradoxes forms the main part. (iii) A

rather weak interrogation on ethical subjects. (iv) The recital by each poet of what he considers to be his best passage. These sections may not all have been compiled at the same date: Wilamowitz, *Il. u. Homer*, 403, plausibly suggested that (iii) is an addition.

<sup>2</sup> The argument that the impropriety of one or two of the groups of lines made such a collection unsuitable for school use, revived by Allen, was disposed of by Wilamowitz, *Il. u. Homer*, 400.



obviously liable to misinterpretation that they must have been noticed even by the most incompetent composer, had they been composed continuously: for example:

οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς τ' ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀνάγκιδός ἐστι  
—μητρός, ἐπεὶ πόλεμος χαλεπὸς πάσῃσι γυναῖξιν.

Thus the evidence is in favour of Busse and against Allen, and this section of the Agon should be considered to be a griphic collection of epic and rhapsodic phrases and formulas.<sup>1</sup> That such a collection should be known in the fifth century or even earlier is not surprising; for the riddle, in various forms, had appealed to the Hellenic mind from the time of its early employment by the Delphic oracle onwards. Heraclitus, for example, not only preserved the lice-riddle which defeated Homer, but apparently modelled his normal style upon the oblique utterances of Apollo (although the connexion of this fragment with his own method is purely conjectural), fr. 93 Diels: ὁ ἀναξ οὐδὲ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει ἀλλὰ σημαίνει. Hesiod fr. 160 Rzach and Theognis 1229 f. are other examples of the γρίφος, but the best evidence for the fifth century is Aristophanes, *Wasps* 20 f.: οὐδὲν ἄρα γρίφου διαφέρει Κλεώνομος.—πῶς δὴ;—προσερεῖ τις τοῖσι συμπόταις, λέγων, Τί ταυτὸν ἐν γῇ τ' ἀπέβαλεν κτλ.; The same after-dinner amusement is mentioned by Clearchus, in Athenaeus 457 D.<sup>2</sup>

The main conclusions reached so far are, first, that ll. 1-14 of the Michigan papyrus are not by Alcidas, but are an interpolation, probably from the commentary on the life of Homer which was the main source of the *Life* in the *Certamen* and the other *Lives*; secondly, that the second part of the papyrus may have mentioned the Contest of Homer and Hesiod, and that Alcidas may have quoted from it; thirdly, that the account of this contest existed before Alcidas, as Busse and others have held, and that Alcidas was not even responsible for the compilation of the griphic section.

## § 2

Mention has already been made of Heraclitus, fr. 56 Diels, which refers to the Riddle of the Lice which Homer could not solve. This is the earliest extant version of the riddle, and indeed the only one (if the first part of the Michigan papyrus is an interpolation) before the time of the *Lives*, from the account of which it differs by not telling of the subsequent death of Homer; by making his interlocutors simply boys, and not fisher-boys or fishermen; and by giving their riddle in a prose form. The possibility arises that this fragment of Heraclitus is not genuine, and that the lice-story is a late invention; this hypothesis would explain the fact that it does not occur between the time of Heraclitus and the beginning of the Christian era. Bywater is the only scholar even to have considered this possibility: in his edition of Heraclitus, p. 20 (n. on fr. XLVII), he wrote, 'quae hic de Homero narrantur credunt ab Heraclito profecta Schuster alique; v. tamen Val. Max. ix. 12; pseudo-Plut. de vit. Hom. i. 4 . . .' Thus for Bywater the fact that the lice-riddle story occurred in the *Lives* (see pp. 164-5, where their versions are set out side by side) was in itself enough to cast doubt on its ascription to Heraclitus. Now it is true that many of the sayings attributed to Heraclitus call for scepticism, but scepticism should lead to closer examination, if this is possible. So it is perhaps worth testing this fragment rather thoroughly.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The contention of *Certamen*, § 9, ad init., that the first line in each case was actually a Hesiodic line, and the next line or lines Homeric, need not be taken seriously; in fact *ἔστιν οὖν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος* [sc. *στίχος*] 'Ἡσιόδου, ὁ δὲ ἑξῆς 'Ομήρου κτλ. looks like a gloss.

<sup>2</sup> Comprehensive treatments of Greek riddles

by W. Schultz in *R.E.*, s.v. Rätsel, and K. Ohlert, *Rätsel u. Gesellschaftsspiele der alten Griechen*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> It is possibly of interest that my first close acquaintance with the *Lives* of Homer—for one would scarcely read them for their literary merit—was due to a similar doubt to Bywater's of the

The fragment is quoted, with others of Heraclitus, by Hippolytus, *Refutatio* 9. 9. 6 (p. 242 Wendland). Hippolytus is trying to show that the Noetian or Monarchian heresy (that Father and Son are the same) is copied from Heraclitus, and therefore pagan and worthless; in this chapter he pursues his demonstration that Heraclitus habitually used contrary predicates of the same subject—here, that he held God to be both hidden and manifest, sometimes setting a greater value on the one quality, sometimes on the other. The context is as follows; the words attributed to Heraclitus as fr. 56 D are spaced: . . . [fr. 54 D]—ἐπαινεῖ καὶ προθυμᾷζει πρὸς τοῦ γινωσκομένου τὸ ἄγνωστον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄορατον τῆς δυνάμεως. ὅτι δὲ ἐστὶν ὁρατὸς ἀνθρώποις καὶ οὐκ ἀνεξεύρετος, ἐν τούτοις λέγει· ὅσων ὄψις ἀκοή μάθησις ταῦτα ἐγὼ προθυμῶ [fr. 55 D], τούτέστι τὰ ὁρατὰ τῶν ἀοράτων. \* \* \* [gap in MS.: <ταὐτὸ δὲ καὶ> Wend.] ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων αὐτοῦ λόγων κατανοεῖν ῥᾶδιον· ἐξαπάτηνται, φησὶν, οἱ ἀνθρώποι πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν φανερῶν παραπλησίως· Ὁμήρῳ, δς ἐγένετο τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτερος πάντων· ἐκεῖνόν τε γὰρ παῖδες φθειρας κατακτείνοντες ἐξηπάτησαν εἰπόντες· ὅσα εἶδομεν καὶ [κατ]ελάβομεν, ταῦτα ἀπολείπομεν, ὅσα δὲ οὔτε εἶδομεν οὔτ' ἐλάβομεν, ταῦτα φέρομεν. οὕτως Ἡράκλειτος ἐν ἴσῃ μοίρᾳ τίθεται καὶ τιμὰ τὰ ἐμφανῆ τοῖς ἀφανέσιν, . . .

H. Fränkel (*vide* Diels-Kranz, *V.S.*<sup>5</sup> ii. 423) believed the phrase πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν φανερῶν to be an addition, presumably by Hippolytus. Linguistically at any rate there is nothing against the phrase: γνῶσις is not common in the fifth century, especially in philosophical writings; but it occurs, with the simple meaning 'recognition' required here, at Thucydides 7. 44. . . τὴν δὲ γνῶσιν τοῦ οἰκείου ἀπιστεῖσθαι;<sup>1</sup> also the opposition γνῶσις ἀγνωσίῃ is attributed to Heraclitus by Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 14. Further, it is most unlikely that Hippolytus should have supplied πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν κτλ., for the following reason: his proof that Heraclitus preferred invisible to visible ended with the citation of fr. 54 D and the summing up which forms the first sentence quoted above. He then turned to the evidence that H. held the opposite opinion also, that visible was better than invisible; fr. 55 D is intended to show this, and our fr. 56 which immediately follows it must be quoted as additional confirmation of the same point—thus there is no doubt that Wendland's suggested <ταὐτὸ δὲ καὶ> gives the right sense. Thus in Hippolytus' eyes fr. 56 D is an example of Heraclitus' defence of the plain and visible against the obscure and invisible. Now he could not possibly have put this interpretation on the fragment unless πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν φανερῶν had been an integral part of it, for the remaining part suggests rather that there is a *virtue* in the kind of obscurity which can defeat the wisest of the Greeks. Hippolytus himself would scarcely be likely to describe the lice-riddle as φανερόν; but such a description accords well with the paradoxical style of Heraclitus. In short, the sense of the fragment as a whole is far from supporting what Hippolytus wished to demonstrate, but the misleading τῶν φανερῶν persuaded him that his quotation was suitable. The phrase appears to be genuine.

On the other hand, it is perhaps surprising that the latter part of the fragment, the lice-riddle, has not been more severely challenged in the past. It is worth stating the possible objections against its Heraclitean authorship, if only to dismiss them. The chief specific difficulty (as opposed to the possible general antipathies mentioned in n. 3 on p. 157) is the connexion τε γάρ, which, without a following τε or καί (as in e.g. Hippocrates, *Prognosis* 20), is apparently not otherwise found before Aristotle: see Dennis-

genuineness of Heraclitus 56. One's instinct is to put all such fictions about great figures in, or after, the Alexandrian period. That such doubts cannot be lightly dismissed is shown by the fact that they are held, not only by Bywater, but also by Professor D. S. Robertson and Mr. W. Hamilton.

<sup>1</sup> Diels, *SBBerlin* (phil.-hist.kl.) ix, 1901, 190 f., held that Heraclitus was particularly instrumental in the formation of verbal substantives in -σις. Snell, *Hermes*, lxi. 377, observed that such substantives in H. are all words of perception or learning.

ton, *Greek Particles*, 536, who does not cite our fragment. According to Bonitz *contra* Eucken there are five such occurrences of *τε γάρ* in Aristotle which cannot be explained away. The pre-Aristotelian occurrences (Soph. *Tr.* 1019-20; Eur. *Ph.* 1313; Hdt. 1. 3; Dem. 19. 159; Lys. 2. 17; Pl. *Rep.* 522 B) are normally accounted for either by emendation or as the result of anacoluthon and the consequent omission of the following *τε* or *καί*. This might suggest that we should look for an author later than Aristotle, probably Hippolytus himself, for the final sentence *ἐκείνον—φέρονεν*: there is no ground for doubting the first, clearly Heraclitean, sentence on this account. As it stands the anecdote of the riddle may not seem very relevant to Heraclitus' ideas as a whole, although the abuse of Homer is typical; but supposing that Heraclitus in the first sentence was really thinking, not of the lice-riddle story, but of *Homer's folly in wishing that strife should cease*, then a greater relevance would be achieved. It is known that Heraclitus (for whom πόλεμος, ἐρις, were of course all-important) rebuked Homer for this wish: Aristotle, *Eth. Eud. H.* 1. 1235<sup>a</sup>25 ff. (*V.S.* 22 A 22): καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ ποιήσαντι, ὅς ἐρις ἔκ τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο (= *Il.* 18. 107). Is it not possible that this was the real point on which Homer was deceived, and that in Heraclitus' original version some such amplification followed the first sentence of fr. 56 D; but that Hippolytus, only knowing the first and most memorable sentence (which contained the words valuable for his purpose, i.e. πρὸς τὴν γνώσιν τῶν φανεράων), filled in the quotation with the banal legend, common in his day, of another and less philosophical failure by the wisest of men? This attractive theory must be rejected on account of another, and much more definite, linguistic point: κατακτείνω is essentially an epic and Ionic verb. It is rare even in classical prose, and occurs but once in Herodotus and twice in Xenophon, who occasionally used Ionic words. There is no late use of it, and it is certainly not the word which Hippolytus or any Patristic writer would employ; he would use, for φθειράς κατακτείνοντες, the verb φθειρίζομαι which occurs in all the Lives which describe the lice-riddle, and presumably in the ὑπόμνημα, and which we do not find before the fourth century B.C. Hippolytus was not given to deceptive archaization, and is therefore most unlikely to have written κατακτείνοντες deliberately even if he had thought of the word, which is still more improbable. The presence of this verb seems to be an inescapable proof that the second part of fr. 56 D was written by Heraclitus, who, writing Ionic of a distinctly poetical tinge, would naturally use κατακτείνω. It is clear that the difficulty of *τε γάρ* must be explained otherwise than by the hypothesis of post-Aristotelian composition: either as a textual error, or as an unintentional change in the course of transmission—the suggestion that the fragment was followed by another sentence, now lost, connected by καί or a second *τε*, is not plausible, since the episode of the lice-riddle has the appearance of being complete in itself. In any case the two linguistic arguments, with their different conclusions, cannot be counted as equal in value: the certain occurrence of an Ionic word which does not recur in the great mass of Greek writing after Xenophon is a much stronger indication of early composition than the probable occurrence of a combination of particles which *might* not be found elsewhere before Aristotle, of late composition. Further, the style of the whole fragment is archaic, especially the strongly emphasized rhythms which are characteristic of many of Heraclitus' other pronouncements where the original form is accurately preserved. And, if the philosophical implications of the story are not at first sight profound,<sup>1</sup> yet it admirably serves Heraclitus' purpose of showing Homer to be a fool. The riddle is not perhaps an easy one (especially, one might say, for a blind man), yet children knew it and the

<sup>1</sup> Although K. Reinhardt, for example (*Parmenides u. die Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie*, 206, 214; *Hermes*, lxxvii. 27), and G. Calogero (*Giornale Critica della Filosofia Italiana*,

xvii, 1936, 222) are right in making the riddle analogous with the riddle in the whole of nature, i.e. that all things are one from certain points of view.

great man did not. In default of definite contrary evidence the whole of fr. 56 D may be accepted as being an accurate reproduction of the words of Heraclitus.<sup>1</sup>

## § 3

Neither Heraclitus fr. 56 D nor the Michigan papyrus contains the whole account of the lice-riddle. In the *ὑπόμνημα*, to judge by the evidence of some of the Lives, the asking of this riddle by the fisher-boys<sup>2</sup> is precipitated by a question from Homer, of which there are two distinct versions: either *ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας θηρήτορες ἢ ῥ' ἔχομέν τι*; or *ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἀλιήτορες ἢ ῥ' ἔχομέν τι*; As the encounter is meant to have taken place in Ios, both versions present some difficulty, and various explanations have been advanced for the name Arcadia. (1) Tzetzes, *Exeg. in Il.*, p. 37 Hermann (see below, p. 165), takes Ios to be a place in Arcadia, but he still does not explain how Arcadia comes to have a *παράλια*. This cannot be regarded as a helpful contribution. (2) J. Schmidt, *De Herodotea quae fertur vita Homeri*, ii. 194 ff., who is followed by Wilamowitz, *Il. u. Homer*, 435, proposed that Homer's question and its riddling answer actually originated in Arcadia (where, suggests Wilamowitz, the rude hunters were likely to be lousy); the original reading in this case must be *θηρήτορες*, and *ἀλιήτορες* is just a partial and ill-judged attempt to adapt an old riddle to the special circumstances of Homer's death in the island of Ios. (3) Koehly, *Opuscula*, i. 222, proposed reading *ἀγρῆς ἀλῆς* for *ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας*: *θηρήτορες* would then be the correct reading and *ἀλιήτορες* an easy variation. But the emendation has no warrant in the manuscripts and is altogether too violent, even if it does circumvent the difficulty. (4) Ludwich, *Rh. Mus.* lxxi, 1916, 222, suggested that those who understood by Arcadia the hinterland state of the Peloponnese read *θηρήτορες*, while those who referred it to the strongpoint on the coast of Cephallenia mentioned by Diodorus 15. 45. 3 (Stephanus also wrote of another Arcadia, *παρθαλάσσιος πόλις*) read *ἀλιήτορες*. Ludwich did not remark how unlikely it is that anyone on seeing the name 'Arcadia' should think of any but the Peloponnesian Arcadia; although it is just possible, in view of Stephanus' knowledge, that such an alternative was later commonly known in Byzantium. He went on, however, to make this pertinent observation: 'Aber woher der Dichter auf Ios seine Kenntniss holte, dass die Fischerjungen wirklich von dem einen oder dem anderen Arkadien herkamen, ist damit nicht erklärt.' Tzetzes' answer has already been dismissed: Ludwich himself put forward the suggestion that the reference is to a proverb such as *Ἀρκάδας μμεῖσθαι*, attested in *Corp. Paroem. Gr.* ii. 305. 5, according to which the Arcadians (*μαχημώτατοι μὲν γὰρ ὄντες αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδέποτε ἰδίαν νίκην ἐνίκησαν*) had the reputation of being of service to other people rather than themselves. Hence the verse in question would have the sense: 'You servants of others, have you a catch?'

<sup>1</sup> Heraclitus presumably did not himself invent either the lice-riddle or its connexion with Homer. There may be a genuine clue to the origin of this connexion in the common account represented by *Certamen*, ps.-Plut. 1, Proclus, Tzetzes, according to which the poet at some stage in his wanderings consulted the Delphic oracle about his birthplace (or *περὶ ἀσφαλείας* in Proclus). The oracle accepted or invented the tale that Homer's mother came from Ios, and may have conceded that Homer died there. Delphi seems to have been a storehouse of riddles, and the lice-riddle may have been a convenient means of changing the subject from a delicate and

confusing question, that of Homer's native city.

<sup>2</sup> Heraclitus talked of *παῖδες*, without specifying that they were fisher-boys. He of course was primarily interested in the fact that Homer's interlocutors were mere children, and so failed to describe them any further. None the less the fact that the boys had been out fishing is probably an original and essential part of the riddle: it made the riddle much more difficult, because the victim naturally thought that the things which were caught or not caught were fish, and so was distracted from the true solution. The same motive would apply in the case of hunters, if *θηρήτορες* is accepted: see below.

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None of these explanations is really satisfactory: (2) is the most plausible, but it is still most improbable that an anecdote uprooted from its proper locale and connected with the life of Homer would not be appropriately modified. The germ of a more attractive solution is to be found in Ludwich's suggested proverb; although it is too obscure and too devoid of point to be implicit in Homer's question, yet it is surely correct to suppose that this question should itself be enigmatic—in fact that it should be a riddle which provokes a riddle in return, and one which according to the oracle was destined to be fatal. The riddle, whatever it is, is confined to the form of address: the actual question  $\eta \rho' \epsilon\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu \tau\iota$ ; is quite straightforward, the first person plural being a colloquialism. Is there then anything particularly enigmatic to be found either in  $\alpha\acute{\nu}\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma \alpha\pi' \text{Αρκαδίας θηρήτορες}$  or in  $\alpha\acute{\nu}\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma \alpha\pi' \text{Αρκαδίας ἀλιήτορες}$ ? In the first, no: hunters from Arcadia were presumably not uncommon, in fact the land was known for its hunters from Atalante onwards; but in the second, yes: fishermen from Arcadia (by which must be meant only the well-known Arcadia, a notoriously inland and mountain-bound territory) is a contradiction in terms which might strike the not too subtle intellect as immensely humorous—compare the influence on our own intellectual tradition exercised by the Swiss Navy and Wigan Pier. But the essence of a riddle is that after propounding an apparent absurdity, itself amusing, it proceeds to resolve it. The reference in 'fishermen from Arcadia' must be to the passage in the *Catalogue of Ships* where the Arcadians are said to have gone to Troy in sixty ships, one of the biggest fleets of all: *Il.* 2. 603 ff.:

Οἱ δ' ἔχον Ἀρκαδίην ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ,  
 Αἰπύτιον παρὰ τύμβον, ἔν' ἄνερες ἀγχιμαχηταί,  
 οἳ Φερεὸν τε νέμοντο καὶ Ὀρχομενὸν πολύμηλον  
 Ῥίπην τε Στρατιήν τε καὶ ἠνεμόεσσαν Ἐνίσπην,  
 καὶ Τεγέην εἶχον καὶ Μαντινέην ἑρατεινὴν,  
 Στύμφηλόν τ' εἶχον καὶ Παρρασίην ἐνέμοντο,  
 τῶν ἥρχ' Ἀγκαίου πάϊς, κρείων Ἀγαπήνωρ,  
 ἐξήκοντα νεῶν· πολέες δ' ἐν νηὶ ἑκάστη  
 Ἀρκαῶδες ἄνδρες ἔβαινον, ἐπιστάμενοι πολεμίζειν.

The paradox of a non-seafaring people having ships is resolved in the three lines that follow (612 ff.):

αὐτος γάρ σφιν δῶκεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων  
 νῆας εὐσέλμους περᾶν ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον  
 Ἀτρεΐδης, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφί θαλάσσια ἔργα μεμύλει.

These three lines were athetized by Zenodotus, and probably for this reason are marked with a dipole in A (Venetus 454); l. 612 also has a dipole in Allen's papyrus<sup>2</sup>, of the second century A.D. Certainly they are inorganic and have the appearance of being an addition—perhaps only an afterthought, but more probably the product of a later and more analytical age, that century perhaps which, Pisistratean recension or not, produced a marked stabilization in the text of the two great epics. Strictly the paradox is not entirely removed by explaining that the Arcadians travelled in borrowed ships, since to those who knew their *Iliad* it would be clear that the warriors must have rowed themselves; as Thucydides 1. 10. 4 remarked, there can have been few supernumeraries. Admittedly in only two cases is the number who went in each ship specified: into each of their 50 ships went 120 Boeotians, while Philoctetes' contingent from around Methone went 50 to a ship (2. 509 f. and 719 f.)—the latter being described as both rowers and bowmen. In the case of other contingents we just learn that 'many' went in each ship (e.g. l. 610 quoted above). But certainly no ship of even the eighth century (assuming that the Catalogue in its present form is as late as this) had

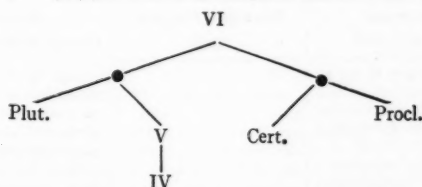
anything like 120 rowers: on the other hand, 50 is a plausible number, which is not quite equalled in the surviving Geometric representations of ships. The Boeotian numbers therefore were exaggerated, perhaps by design; the *Catalogue of Ships* represents the situation at Aulis, and may have been put together for Boeotian audiences.

Leaf, *Commentary on the Iliad*, ad v., points out that the Arcadians were not the only inland people represented as going to Troy in ships: this is also the case with some of the north Thessalian and Epirote peoples whose contingents are described at ll. 729 ff. Yet those northern names must have been strange to the ears of the sixth-century Athenian, who may well not have realized that certain of their contingents had no outlet to the sea; while Arcadia was well known by repute, even if only for the rural backwardness of its inhabitants, and the thought οὐ σφί θαλάσσια ἔργα μεμήλει must immediately have sprung to mind on hearing 2. 603-11. I am still assuming that Athens had a large hand in the first standardization of the *Iliad*. That the reference to the Arcadians is as early as the rest of the *Catalogue* is not in doubt; Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, 79 f., remarks that the geography of Arcadia in these lines is consistent with the probable extension of Triphylia to the Alpheus down to about the eighth century. Yet nowhere else in the *Iliad* is there any mention of an Arcadian contingent at Troy, nor of its leader Agapenor; this may suggest that 'Homer', the poet who worked up the *Iliad* as a whole, was aware of a difficulty which was eventually removed in part by the addition of ll. 612-14.

The potentially griphic nature of this Homeric passage may be plainly seen if one compares it with the other epic riddles quoted in the Agon; although its enigmatic quality depends upon content and not upon form. The riddle might be: πολέες δ' ἐν νηϊ ἐκάστη | Ἀρκάδες ἄνδρες ἔβαιων, ἐπιστάμενοι πολέμῳ—to which the answer is: αὐτὸς γὰρ σφιν δῶκεν . . . ἐπεὶ οὐ σφί θαλάσσια ἔργα μεμήλει. As the paradox and its solution became known, other and more subtle allusions would be permissible—allusions which still challenged a reply that showed the hearer's awareness of it. Thus to call a sailor an Arcadian sailor, if it were not intended as an insult, would be a challenge of his knowledge of Homer or simply a light-hearted attempt to puzzle him. In the instance under discussion the fisher-boys recognized the challenge (emphasized perhaps by ἄνδρες, since in Heraclitus and Hdt., *Cert.*, VI, they are described as παῖδες; but this may be simply due to lines like *Il.* 1. 544, πολλέων ἐκ πολλῶν θηρήτορας ἄνδρας ἀγείρας, which also helps to explain the variant θηρήτορες), and they recognized it not by giving an explicit solution of the riddle—which would perhaps be a shortened and slightly altered form of 2. 612 ff., e.g. καὶ μὲν Ἀρκάσι αὐτὲ θαλάσσια ἔργα μέμνηεν | εἰ περ νῆας ἔδωκεν ἄναξ ἄνδρων Ἀγαμέμνων—but by returning a counter-riddle. Homer clearly deserved everything he got, but that is neither here nor there.

On external grounds then ἀλιήτορες makes better sense than θηρήτορες: what is the textual evidence for and against? Of the sources which record Homer's question, *Certamen* and Proclus have θηρήτορες while IV, V, and Tzetzes have ἀλιήτορες, as may be seen from pp. 164-5, where the different accounts are set out side by side. According to Allen, who virtually ignored Tzetzes and dismissed IV and V by saying 'they are very common, and supplied the people of Constantinople with its intellectual food', the evidence supports the reading of *Certamen* and Proclus; this is the commonly accepted view. Allen formed his judgement on the relationship of the different Lives by comparing the sources which they name for similar statements. This examination shows at once that the Lives are rather closely connected, and that they depend upon a common source, the *ὑπόμνημα*, for their biographical information, even though Hdt. (which, however, does not name sources), *Certamen*, Hesychius, use additional material. By this method of assessment VI is the most complete version, even though it contains a very abbreviated account of the lice-riddle and Homer's death; Tzetzes is excluded, although in spite of serious aberrations like Ios in Arcadia he preserves a rather full

version of the same. Allen therefore puts forward (*Origins*, 31) the following relationship for the rest:



That this sort of stemma is to some extent deceptive is implied by Allen when he says: 'Each stage has saved a little which the others lost; but the private gains of VI are overwhelming.' The Lives did not simply copy from each other, for even the later ones contain some material which the earlier ones omitted; thus they still had access either to the archetype itself or, more probably, to rather full versions of the archetype which we do not possess. Yet on other occasions a later Life will follow so closely the selection and idiosyncrasies of an earlier one that it must be regarded as using the earlier life as its main source, and merely supplementing it by reference to a second version; this became necessary because of the unevenness of most versions—e.g. VI preserves a full account of the theories of Homer's genealogy, birthplace, and works, but deals with his death in a very scanty fashion. That Allen's treatment of his chosen method is not exhaustive is shown, for example, by the fact that IV is described as 'V less its quotations', and shown in the above stemma as entirely dependent on V; while in fact the first part of IV records information (e.g. *υἱὸς ἦν κατὰ μὲν τινὰς Μαίονος καὶ Ὑρηνθοῦς* and *οἱ γὰρ Αἰολεῖς τοὺς τυφλοὺς ὁμήρου καλοῦσαν*) which does not occur in V, and is perhaps separately derived from VI. IV and V are different versions, the latter being in general much the fuller, of a common hyparchetype, and it is better to represent them as such.

On the following pages are set out the different extant accounts of the story of Homer's death;<sup>1</sup> although seriously abbreviated in VI and Hesychius, this story is more universally reported than any other incident, and thus affords an excellent basis for a comparison differing in kind from Allen's. A combination of the two methods may give a truer picture not only of the original form of the story of Homer's death but also of the interrelationship of the Lives as a whole. Ps.-Plutarch 2 omits the incident, while the account of IV is very cursory and is set below that of V.

The following points may be noted (certain words and phrases in the parallel passages have been printed in heavy type to facilitate comparison):

1. The most widely reported part of the story is the epitaph, also mentioned by Pausanias; only Proclus omits it.
2. Hdt. gives a verbose account which differs in many details from the common one; e.g. Homer is not alone on the beach, but accompanied by sailors and townsfolk. This type of expansion is probably due to the author of Hdt. himself, as is the scepticism shown over the cause of Homer's death and the authorship of the epitaph. Such scepticism is in keeping with the attempt to imitate the Herodotean style, although it was not entirely absent from the *ὑπόμνημα*, and is exemplified in the introductions to VI and to Proclus, not quoted above.
3. Proclus, Hesychius, Tzetzes, are all sceptical about Homer's blindness; Tzetzes

<sup>1</sup> Other references to the story: (i) a wall-painting at Pompeii, with the descriptions **OMHPOS** and **AAEIS**, and a version of the fishermen's riddle (Kaibel, *Epigr. Graeca*, no. 1105)—this is the earliest dateable evidence for

the story after Heraclitus, and might point to a *terminus ante quem* for the *ὑπόμνημα*. (ii) Valerius Maximus, 9. 12. 3. (iii) Tzetze's version of Homer's question and the reply (i.e. with *ἀλιήτορες*) recurs in the *Anth. Pal.* ix. 448.

<i>Ps.-Herodotus</i> §§ 34-6	<i>Certamen</i> § 5 and § 18	<i>Michigan Papyrus</i> 2754	<i>Proclus</i> (from <i>Chrestomathia</i> I)	<i>Vita VI</i>
<p>ἀπηνέχθη ἐς τὴν Ἴον, ... συνέβη δὲ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ καταπλῆοντι ἄρξασθαι μαλακῶς ἔχειν· ἐκβὰς δ' ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου ἔκοιμ' ἐπὶ τῆς κυματογῆς ἀδυνάτως ἔχων. ... τῶν δὲ ναυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τινῶν ἡμένων παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ κατέπλωσαν <b>παῖδες ἀλῆτες</b> (ἐς) τὸν τόπον καὶ ἐκβάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἀκατοῦ προσελθόντες πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε εἶπον· ἀγετε ὧ ἔνοι, ἐπακούσατε ἡμέων, ἂν ἄρα δύνησθε διαγνῶναι ἄσπ' ἂν ὕμιν εἴπωμεν. καὶ τις τῶν παρεόντων ἐκέλευε λέγειν. οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· ἡμεῖς ἄσπα εἴλωμεν κατελίπομεν, ἃ δὲ μὴ εἴλωμεν φέρομεν. <b>οἱ δὲ φασὶ μέτρω εἰπεῖν αὐτοῦς</b>·</p> <p>ἄσπ' ἔλομεν λιτόμεσθα, ἃ δ' οὐχ ἔλομεν φερόμεσθα. οὐ δυναμένοι δὲ τῶν παρεόντων γινώσκαι τὰ βῆθ' ἀναγνῶναι οἱ παῖδες, ὅτι ἀλιεῖοντες οὐδὲν ἔδιδναντο εἰλῆν· καθήμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐφειρίζοντο καὶ ὄσους μὲν ἔλαβον τῶν φθειρῶν κατέλιπον, ὄσους δὲ μὴ ἔδιδναντο ἐς οἶκον ἀπεφύροντο. ὁ δὲ Ὀμηρος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεγε τὰ ἔπεα τάδε· τοίαν γὰρ πατέρων ἐξ αἵματος ἐκγεγάσθε   οὔτε βοθυκλήρων οὔτ' ἀσπετα μῆλα νεμόντων.</p> <p>ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀσθενείας ταύτης συνέβη τὸν Ὀμηρον τελευτῆσαι ἐν Ἴῳ, οὐ παρὰ τὸ μὴ γινῶναι τὸ παρὰ τῶν παίδων βῆθ' ὡς οἰονταί τινες, ἀλλὰ τῇ μαλακίῃ. τελευτήσας δὲ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ Ἴῳ ... καὶ τὸ ἐλεγείον τότε <b>ἐπέγραψαν</b> ἡταιρὸν ὕστερον χρόνῳ πολλῷ, ὡς ἦδη ἡ τε ποίησις ἐξεπεπτώκει καὶ ἐθαυμάζετο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὐ γὰρ Ὀμήρου ἐστίν·</p> <p>ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖαν κάλυψεν ἄνδρῶν ἡρώων κοσμήτορα θεῖον Ὀμηρον.</p>	<p>... ἐλθόντα δὲ καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι τις εἶπεν, <b>τὴν δὲ Πυθίαν εἰπεῖν</b>·</p> <p>ἔστιν Ἴος νῆσος ... ἀλλὰ νέων παίδων αἰνιγμα φύλασαι.</p> <p>... (18) τῆς δὲ πανηγύρεως λυθείσης ὁ ποιητῆς εἰς Ἴον ἐπλευσε πρὸς <b>Κρεώφυλον</b> κάκει χρόνον διετρίβε προεβύτης ὧν ἦδη. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης καθήμενος <b>παίδων τινῶν ἀφ' ἀλείας</b> ἐρχομένων ὡς φασὶ πυνθόμενος·</p> <p>ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίδης <b>θηρήτορες</b> ἢ ῥ' ἔχομεν τι; εἰπόντων δὲ ἐκείνων</p> <p>ἄσπ' ἔλομεν λιτόμεσθα, ὄσ' οὐχ ἔλομεν φερόμεσθα, οὐ νοήσας τὸ λεχθὲν ἡρετο αὐτοῦς ὁ τι λέγουν. οἱ δὲ φασιν ἐν ἀλείᾳ μὲν ἀγρεύσαι μὴδὲν, ἐφθειρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν φθειρῶν οὐς ἔλαβον καταλίπειν, οὐς δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβον ἐν τοῖς ἱματίοις φέρειν. <b>ἀναμνησθεῖς δὲ τοῦ μαντείου</b>, ὅτι τὸ τέλος αὐτῷ ἦκει τοῦ βίου, ποιεῖ τὸ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἐπίγραμμα. ἀναχωρῶν δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ὄντος πηλοῦ ὀλισθῶν καὶ πεσὼν <b>ἐπὶ τὴν πλευρὰν τριταῖος</b>, ὡς φασὶ, τελευτᾷ, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Ἴῳ· ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·</p> <p>ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖαν κάλυπτε κτλ.</p>	<p>... οἱ δὲ ὀρῶντες αὐτὸν ἐσχεδίασαν τόνδε τὸν στίχον· ἴδ' ἄσπ' ἔλαβον λιτόμεσθ' ὄσπ' οὐκ ἔλαβον φερόμεσθα.</p> <p>ὁ δὲ οὐ δυναμένος εὐρεῖν τὸ λεχθὲν ἡρετο αὐτοῦς ὁ τι λέγοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἐφ' ἀλείας οἰχόμενοι ἀγρεύσαι μὲν οὐδὲν, καθήμενοι δὲ φθειρίζεσθαι, τῶν δὲ φθειρῶν οὐς ἔλαβον αὐτοῦ καταλίπειν οὐς δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβον ἐν τοῖς τρίβωσιν ἐναποφέρειν. <b>ἀναμνησθεῖς δὲ τοῦ μαντείου</b>, ὅτι ἡ καταστροφή αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου ἦκεν, ποιεῖ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·</p> <p>ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖαν κάλυψε κτλ.</p> <p>καὶ ἀναχωρῶν παλαιοῦ ὄντος ὀλισθάνει καὶ πεσὼν <b>ἐπὶ πλευρὰν</b> οὕτως, φασίν, ἐτελεύτησεν.</p>	<p>περὶ δὲ τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ λόγος τις φέρεται τοιοῦτος. <b>ἀνελείν</b> φασιν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν χρωμένῳ περὶ ἀσφαλείας τάδε·</p> <p>ἔστιν Ἴος νῆσος ... ἀλλὰ νέων παίδων αἰνιγμα φύλασαι.</p> <p>λέγουσιν οὖν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἴον πλεύσαντα διατρίψαι μὲν παρὰ <b>Κρεώφυλῳ</b>, γράψαντα δὲ <b>Οἰχαλίας</b> ἄλωνα τούτῳ χαρίσασθαι, ἥτις νῦν ὡς Κρεωφύλου περιφέρεται. καθεζόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τινος ἀκτῆς θαλασσομένου <b>ἀλῆτες</b> προσεῖπεν αὐτοῦς καὶ ἀνακρίναι τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσιν·</p> <p>ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίδης <b>θηρήτορες</b> ἢ ῥ' ἔχομεν τι; ὑποτυχόντα δὲ αὐτῶν ἔνα εἰπεῖν·</p> <p>οὐς ἔλομεν λιτόμεσθ', οὐς δ' οὐχ ἔλομεν φερόμεσθα.</p> <p>οὐκ ἐπιβάλλοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ διελέσθαι τὸ αἰνιγμα, ὅτι ἐπ' ἰχθυεῖαν καταβάντες ἀφήμαρτον, φθειρισάμενοι δὲ ὄσους μὲν ἔλαβον τῶν φθειρῶν ἀποκτείναντες ἀπολείπουσιν, ὅσοι δὲ αὐτοῦς διέφυγον τούτους ἀποκομίζουσιν, οὕτως δὲ ἐκείνων <b>ἀθυμήσαντα</b> συννοῦν ἀπέναι, <b>τοῦ χρημοῦ ἔννοιαν λαμβάνοντα</b>, καὶ οὕτως ὀλισθόντα περιπταῖσαι λίθῳ καὶ <b>τριταῖον</b> τελευτῆσαι.—ἀλλὰ δὴ ταῦτα μὲν πολλῆς ἔχειται <b>ζητήσεως</b>, ἵνα δὲ μὴδὲ τούτων ἄπειρος ὑπάρχῃς διὰ τοῦτο εἰς ταῦτα κατεχώρισα. <b>τυφλὸν δὲ ὅσοι τούτων ἀπέφηναντο</b>, αὐτοὶ μοι <b>δοκοῦσιν τὴν διάνοιαν πεπηρῶσθαι</b>· τοσαῦτα γὰρ κατείδεν ὅσα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπος πώποτε.</p>	<p>ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ἐν Ἴῳ τῇ νήσῳ <b>ἀμηχανία περιπεσόντα</b>, ἐπειδὴ περ τῶν <b>παίδων τῶν ἀλῆων</b> οὐχ οἷός τ' ἐγένετο αἰνιγμα λύσαι· ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦτο·</p> <p>ἄσπ' ἔλομεν λιτόμεσθ', ἄσπ' οὐχ ἔλομεν φερόμεσθα. καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ ἐπιγέγραπται ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτο·</p> <p>ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖαν κάλυπτε κτλ.</p>



VI	Ps.-Plutarch I § 4	Hesychius (in Suidas)	Vita V	Tzetzes
<p>δὲ αὐτὸν "Ἰω τῇ νήσῳ περιπεσόν- των παί- δων οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν ἴος νῆσος . . . ἀλλὰ νέων ἀνδρῶν αἰνιγ- μα φύλασαι. φέρεται καὶ ἕτερος χρησ- μὸς τοιοῦτος· δύβαι καὶ δύσσαιμον κτλ. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρό- νον πλέων ἐς Θήβας ἐπὶ τὰ Κρόνια, ἀγῶν δὲ οὗτος ἀγεται παρ' αὐτοῖς μου- σικός, ἦλθεν εἰς Ἴον. ἐνθα ἐπὶ πέτρῳ καθεζό- μενος ἐθεάσατο ἄλιεῖς προσπλέοντας, ὧν ἐπύ- θετο εἰ τι ἔχουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θηρᾶσαι μὲν μηδὲν, φθειρίζεσθαι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν τῆς θήρας, οὕτως ἀπεκρίναντο· ὅσα· ἔλομεν λιτόμεσθα, ὅσα· οὐχ ἔλομεν φερόμεσθα, αἰνισσόμενοι ὡς ἄρα οὐς μὲν ἔλαβον τῶν φθειρῶν ἀποκτείναντες κατέλιπον, οὐς δ' οὐκ ἔλαβον ἐν τῇ ἐσθῇ τι φέροιεν. ὅπερ οὐ δυνήθεις συμβαλεῖν Ὁμηρος διὰ τὴν ἀθυ- μίαν ἐτελεύτησε, θά- ψαντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰῆται μεγαλοπρεπῶς τοιοῦδε ἐπέγραψαν αὐτοῦ τῷ τάφῳ· ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφα- λὴν κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει κτλ.</p>	<p>... ἐπὶ πρώτῳ τὸν θεὸν τῶν τε εἰρηγόνων καὶ πρόθεν· ὁ δὲ ἀνείλεν οὕτως· ἔστιν ἴος νῆσος . . . ἀλλὰ νέων ἀνδρῶν αἰνιγ- μα φύλασαι. φέρεται καὶ ἕτερος χρησ- μὸς τοιοῦτος· δύβαι καὶ δύσσαιμον κτλ. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρό- νον πλέων ἐς Θήβας ἐπὶ τὰ Κρόνια, ἀγῶν δὲ οὗτος ἀγεται παρ' αὐτοῖς μου- σικός, ἦλθεν εἰς Ἴον. ἐνθα ἐπὶ πέτρῳ καθεζό- μενος ἐθεάσατο ἄλιεῖς προσπλέοντας, ὧν ἐπύ- θετο εἰ τι ἔχουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θηρᾶσαι μὲν μηδὲν, φθειρίζεσθαι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν τῆς θήρας, οὕτως ἀπεκρίναντο· ὅσα· ἔλομεν λιτόμεσθα, ὅσα· οὐχ ἔλομεν φερόμεσθα, αἰνισσόμενοι ὡς ἄρα οὐς μὲν ἔλαβον τῶν φθειρῶν ἀποκτείναντες κατέλιπον, οὐς δ' οὐκ ἔλαβον ἐν τῇ ἐσθῇ τι φέροιεν. ὅπερ οὐ δυνήθεις συμβαλεῖν Ὁμηρος διὰ τὴν ἀθυ- μίαν ἐτελεύτησε, θά- ψαντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰῆται μεγαλοπρεπῶς τοιοῦδε ἐπέγραψαν αὐτοῦ τῷ τάφῳ· ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφα- λὴν κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει κτλ.</p>	<p>γρηαὶὸς δὲ τελευτήσας ἐν τῇ Ἰῳ τέθαπται, τυφλὸς ἐκ παίδων γε- γονὸς, τὸ δὲ ἀληθές ὅτι οὐχ ἡττήθη ἐπιθυ- μῶν ἄρχεται καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο ἱστορήθη τυφλός. ἐπιγέγραπται δ' ἐν τῷ τάφῳ αὐτοῦ τὸδε τὸ ἔλεγειον, ὃ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰητῶν ἐποίηθη χρόνῳ πολλῷ (ὑστερον). ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὰν κεφα- λὴν κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει κτλ.</p>	<p>... φασί . . . ἐν Ἰῳ τῇ νήσῳ τελευτήσαι ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. καθη- μένου γὰρ ποτε τοῦ Ὁμήρου ἐν αἰγιαλῷ τυφ- λοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄντος αἰσ- θῆσθαι ἄλιεῖς παρερχο- μένους, πρὸς οὓς εἶπεν· ἄνδρες ἅπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἄλιήτορες, ἡ ῥ' ἔχομεν τι; τοὺς δὲ ἀποκριθέντας εἶπεν· ὅσα· ἔλομεν λιτο- μεσθ', ὅσα· οὐχ ἔλομεν φερόμεσθα. τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον ἔστι τοιοῦτον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦσαν ἔχοντες τότε ἐξ ἄλεις ἐφθειρίζοντο, καὶ οὐς μὲν ἔλαβον ἐκ τῶν φθειρῶν φονεῦσαι καὶ μὴ ἔχειν, οὓς δ' οὐκ ἔλαβον ἐν τῇ ἐσθῇ τι περιφέρειν. οὐ νοήσας δὲ τὸ λεγό- μενον ἅπ' ὀλίμῳ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Ἰῳ τῇ νήσῳ. ἔθασαν δ' αὐτὸν μεγαλοπρεπῶς οἱ Ἰῆται χαράξαντες ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ ζώντος ἐπὶ γεγραμ- μένον εἰς αὐτόν· ἐνθάδε . . . καλύπτει κτλ.</p>	<p>(a) Chil. xiii, p. 626 ff. (Kiessling) τοιάδε τῷ Ὁμήρῳ δὲ ἡ τελευτὴ συνέβη. ἦν προχρησθέν θανεῖν αὐτὸν ὅταν ἡρωτημένος οὐ δυνήθῃ τὸ αἰνίγμα ἑαῖνο ἐπιλύσαι. πένης τελὼν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ γε τυφλὸς ἐκ γήρως· τὰ μυθικὰ ληρήματα τίς γὰρ φρονῶν ἐγγράφοι; ἀπανταχοῦ διήρχετο τὰς χώρας τῆς Ἑλλάδος λέγων αὐτοῦ ποιήματα δεχόμενος ἔντιμος, εἰς δ' Ἀρκαδίαν ξενισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κρεωφύλου περιπατήσων ἐρχεται ἐπὶ τὴν παραλίαν. ὡς δ' εἶπεν ἄνδρες ἄλιεῖς Ἀρκαδῆες ἔχομεν τι; οἱ δ' ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ περὶ φθειρῶν λαλοῦντες ὡς οὐς εἶλον οὐχ ἔχουσιν, ἔχουσι δ' οὐς περ εἶλον, ὑπέστρεφε λυπούμενος ὡς μὴ νοήσας τοῦτο. πηλοῦ δ' ὄντος ὠλισθήσε καὶ κεκρουκῶς εἰς πέτραν κλᾶται πλευρὰν τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ τελευτᾷ τριταῖος.</p> <p>(b) Exeg. in Iliadem, p. 37 (Hermann) θυήσκει δὲ οὕτως· ὡς περινοστών τὰς πόλεις καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίην ἐγένετο, περὶ τὴν παραλίαν ταύτης βαδίζων, ἄλιεῦσι φθειριζομένοις ἐντετύχηκε, τυφλός, ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, τῷ γῆρα τυγχάνων· ἄλλοις δὲ ἐκ φαντάσματος Ἀχιλλέως. πρὸς οὓς εἶρηκε ταδί· ἄνδρες ἅπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἄλιήτορες, ἡ ῥ' ἔχομεν τι; οἱ δὲ τοῦτω ἀπεκρίναντο· οὐς μὲν εἶλομεν οὐκ ἔχομεν, οὓς δ' οὐχ εἶλομεν φερόμεσθα· ὁ μὴ νοήσας Ὁμηρος ὅτι περὶ φθειρῶν ἔλεγον ἐτενήκε τῇ λύπῃ, ἐκ χρησμοῦ τοῦτο πάλαι ἀκκοῶς. ἐν Ἰῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας μεγαλοπρεπῶς κηδεύουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰῆται· καὶ ἐπιγράφουσι τῷ τάφῳ αὐτοῦ τὸδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ζώντος Ὁμήρου τοῦτο πεποιηκός, ὡς φασί· ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὰν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει κτλ. —εἰπώμεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς μικρά τινα ἐπὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτάφιον· Ἀρκαδίη μὲν Ὁμῆρε σέο λάχεν ὅσπερ λευκά κτλ.</p>
			<p>Vita IV φασί δ' αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰῳ τῇ νήσῳ διὰ λύπην ἀπο- καρτερήσαντα τελευτήσαι διὰ τὸ μὴ λύσαι τὸ ζήτημα τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλιων αὐτῷ προτεθέν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστάς ἦρετο· ἄνδρες ἅπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἄλιήτορες, ἡ ῥ' ἔχομεν τι; οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο· ὅσα· ἔλομεν λιτόμεσθ', ὅσα· οὐχ ἔλομεν φερό- μεσθα. ἐπιγέγραπται δ' ἐν τῷ μνήματι αὐτοῦ οὕτως· ἐνθάδε . . . καλύπτει κτλ.</p>	

*a* specifically doubts one of the explanations given by VI. Proclus in addition doubts the whole story of Homer's death, while Hesychius follows Hdt. closely in suspecting the Homeric authorship of the epitaph (although this might just be an insertion by Suidas, who used Hdt. as well as Hesychius); this may be the cause of Proclus' entire omission of the epitaph.

4. Hdt., *Certamen*, VI, correctly specify παῖδες ἀλιεῖς, the rest have just ἀλιεῖς, in spite of the oracle.
5. The oracle, however, is not mentioned by Hdt., IV, V, VI, Hesychius.
6. The name of Homer's host Creophylus is recorded only by *Certamen*, Proclus, Tzetzes, and nowhere else in the Lives.
7. The non-fortuitous epithet μεγαλοπρεπῶς, of Homer's burial by the Ietans, is preserved by Ps.-Plutarch, V, Tzetzes *b*.
8. An exceptionally detailed and similar account of the actual circumstance of Homer's death—slipping on mud, falling on his side, dying on the third day, is preserved by *Certamen*, Michigan pap., Proclus, Tzetzes *a*; except that the Michigan papyrus omits τριταῖος, Proclus omits πλευράν. Plutarch, IV, V, VI, Tzetzes *b*, simply say he died through bewilderment or despair.
9. VI and Hesychius are very summary at this point and cannot be properly placed by this comparison. But VI elsewhere represents a good version of the archetype, as Allen showed; and Hesychius is connected with IV and V by the mention with them of the Pisistratean recension, otherwise neglected in the Lives.

On the basis of these points, and of the results of Allen's method of comparison, the following stemma may be constructed to represent a possible relationship between the descendants of the ὑπόμνημα. The special points of contact are set against the lines connecting the various Lives. It should be unnecessary to give the warning that such an elaborate structure, built as it is mainly on purely mechanical similarities, should not be taken too literally, especially since we do not know how long the ὑπόμνημα itself or conjectured hyparchetypes such as X and Y survived. For example, Proclus is shown as dependent upon *Certamen*, Hdt., VI, but he preserves one or two facts (e.g. the gift of the Οἰχαλίας Ἄλωσις to Creophylus) which are not found in any of those. Similarly Tzetzes seems to have used the Proclan account, but the mention of πλευράν,<sup>1</sup> omitted by Proclus, must go back either to *Certamen* or to a similar source; while the theory rejected by Tzetzes *b*, that Homer was blinded by a vision of Achilles, otherwise occurs only in VI. Further, it is impossible to account exactly for individual selection and accidental omission; but in general the account of Homer's death seems to have been handed on with as much precision as possible, and one does not expect imagination to interfere greatly with this type of scholarship.

The chief result that emerges from the construction of the stemma is that Plutarch 1-2, IV, V, appear to depend on a different version of the ὑπόμνημα from that used by *Certamen*, Hdt., VI: a version which failed to note that Homer's interlocutors were fisher-boys, but which proved its independence of the extant παῖδες-versions and their source by the preservation of μεγαλοπρεπῶς, which is unlikely to have been invented in the course of transmission. Plutarch 1 chooses to paraphrase Homer's question, but IV and V have ἀλιήτορες. The problem now arises whether this was the reading of Y, the symbol which I have given to the second hyparchetype, or whether it was the invention of the immediate source of IV and V. The answer is given by Tzetzes. He appears to have had access to both sides of the tradition, from both X and Y; on the whole *a* (Chil.) follows the X side, *b* (Exeg.) the Y side, although *b* explains his λύπη

<sup>1</sup> τὴν δεξιάν with πλευράν occurs only in Tzetzes *a*, but may be simply an addition by Tzetzes for both graphic and rhythmic effect.

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VI

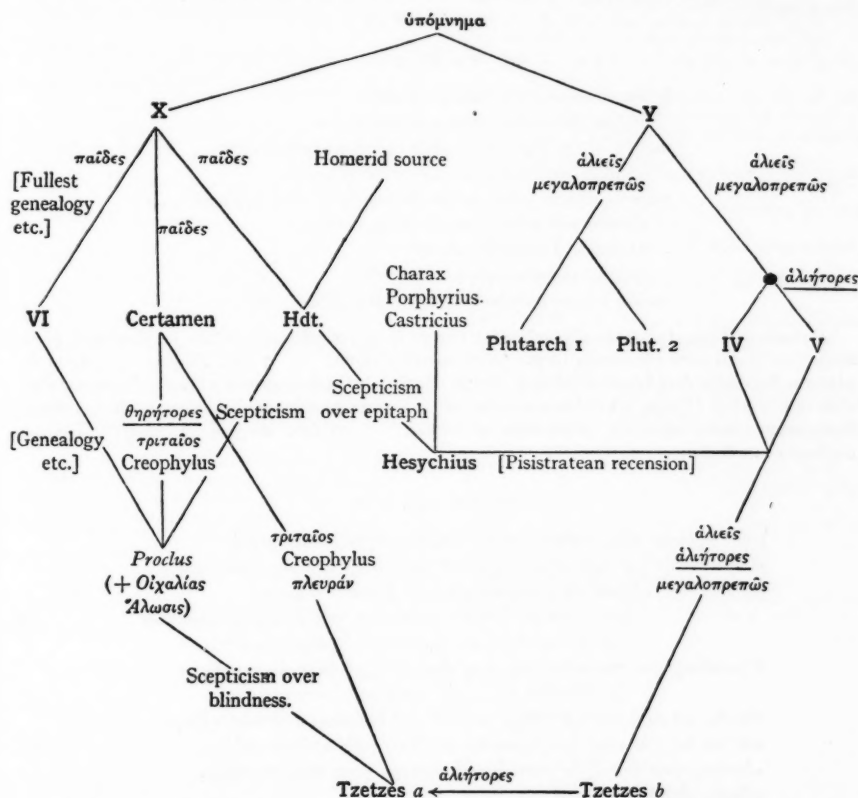
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<sup>1</sup> I a  
Robert  
aspects

as dependent on his remembering the oracle, as in *Certamen*-Michigan and Proclus. At any rate his knowledge of Proclus, and probably the *Certamen* itself, can hardly be denied; therefore he knew the reading *θηρήτορες*. Equally *μεγαλοπρεπῶς* in *b* shows that his *ἀλιήτορες* there is not accidental, and even if he came across a Y-derived source for the death of Homer first, yet even in *a* he still keeps *ἄνδρες ἀλιεῖς Ἀρκάδες*. His preference for this alternative suggests that he at any rate did not consider the Y sources to be contemptible; further, Tzetzes was a considerable scholar who still had access to a large number of sources and might have had access to a hyparchetype other than X and Y, in order to decide between the alternative readings.



Further speculation along these lines becomes barren. Emendation in the course of transmission from *θηρήτορες* to *ἀλιήτορες* was no easier or more tempting than vice versa; *ἀλιήτορες* admittedly does not occur elsewhere but it is a perfectly reasonable form for hexameters. The investigation of the relationship of the Lives, apart from any value it may have as a complement to that undertaken by Allen, has at all events shown that *ἀλιήτορες* cannot be dismissed as easily as it has been in the past; and as it gives a much more attractive point than its rival it may represent the true tradition.<sup>1</sup>

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Hamilton and Mr. H. Lloyd-Jones have been kind enough to advise me on special points.

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# CALLIMACHEA<sup>1</sup>

(3) FR 7. 31-3

σοῦσ[θε γὰρ ἐ]ποιήσαντό με φόρτον·  
σοῦ[σθε νήιο]ν ὃ σφε φέρει  
αὐταν[δρον ]"Ἥλιος ἴστω

31, 32 σοῦσθε . . . σοῦσθε cf. hy. v. 4 31-3 fort. σοῦσ[θ', ἐπέται· λίην γὰρ ἐ]ποιήσαντό με φόρτον· /  
σοῦ[σθε· δόρυ φλέξω νήιο]ν ὃ σφε φέρει / αὐταν[δρον· Ζεὺς δὲ γενέτης τ' ἐμός] "Ἥλιος ἴστω cf. Ap. Rh. 3.  
582; 4. 225 ff.

(4) FR. 85. 4-12

ἐν]θεν ἀνερχόμε[νος] πάλιν [οἴκαδε  
δῶ]ρον ἀπηναίους ἤλθες ὀρή[as ἄγων· 5  
ὥς] δέ σ' ἐπὶ ῥήτρησι λαβεῖν κα[τὰ πατρίδος εἶπε  
δῆ]μος, [ἐπ'] ἀφνειοῖς αἰὲν ἀπαγχόμενος,  
πάν]τες ὑπὸ ψηφίδα κακὴν βάλλον· ἦν δ' ἀπὸ [χαλκοῦ  
εἰκόν]α σὴν αὐτῇ Λοκρὶς ἐθηκε [πόλ]ις,  
..πλ]άσται Τεμεσαῖον ἐπειπ[ ]ν 10  
ἐρ]χα μελισσάων ἀμφισόλοιντι[ ],  
πολλά τε καὶ μακάρεσσιν ἀπεχ[θέα ῥέξαν ]γρ·.

4 οἴκαδε ex Dieg. fort. τοὺς πόρε κείνος (sc. hospes in v. 3 nominatus) / δῶρον, cf. παρά τινος ξένου  
Dieg. 6 Cf. κατὰ τῆς πόλεως Dieg.: ἐπὶ τῇ πατρίδι Oenom. 7 fort. Μῶ]μος 10-11 ὃν  
πλ]άσται Τεμεσαῖον ἐπειπ[όντες καλέουσι]ν tempt. Maas: οἱ (brevius spatio) πλ]άσται Τεμεσαῖον ἐπεῖ  
π[ερὶ κήρινα χεῦα]ν / [ἐρ]χα μελισσάων ἀμφὶ σολοιτυπ[ίην] Barber (postquam plastae ceram circa statuum  
Temesaeam circumfuderunt). σολοιτυπίας ut τυπίας. 12 fort. ἀν]ιγρόν, cf. Hesych. ἀνιγρόν·  
ἀκάθαρτον . . . ἀσεβές.

(5) FR. 229. 2-12

μηδ' ἀγέλαις εἰ]λ[ι]πόδων λοιμός ἐπέλθῃ κατάρματος ἄρπαξ,  
κοῦρε ποθήτ' ὧ τρις ἐμο[ί]· χῶ μὲν [ὅπ]λειτης ἀπὸ κεν τράποιτο,  
μῆλα δ' ὑπ' εὐ]ηπε[λ]ίης πείργα χλωρὴν βοτάνην νέμοιτο·  
]αί. .[.]ετ.ρ[.] τῆσδε μελέσθω· [σὺ] δέ καὶ προπάππων 5  
]οδ.κ[.]υς θε[οῖ]σιν ὁμαρτεῖν· ἐτ[εό]ν γάρ ἐστιν  
ἡ γενέθλη] τοι πατρόθεν τῶν ἀπὸ Δαίτε[ω], τὸ δέ πρὸς τεκούσης  
]σ Λαπίθην α[...].δ. .κεις μ[...].[.] ευγενεῖ[...].ν.  
Φοῖβε, σὺ μὲν το[ι]άδ' ἔφη[ς· το]ῦ δ' ἐπὶ δώ[ροισ] ἀνέπαλ[ο] θ]υμός·  
αὐτίκα δὲ τ]οι τέμ[ε]ν[ο]ς [κα]λὸν ἐν ὕλην, τόθι πρῶτον ὤφθης, 10  
εἴσατο, κρην]έων δι[ιδύ]μων ἐγγύθι δάφνης κατὰ κλῶνα πήξας.  
εἴλαθι, Δελφ]ίμ' αἴ]ν'αξ . . .

2 ff. Cf. Aesch. Eum. 903-87, Theocr. 16. 88-97. 2 praecessit οὔποτε μή vel aliquid simile  
cum coniunctivo. 2-3 fort. ἄρπαξ / σαῖσι, sed post ἄρπαξ punctum in pap. 4 πέονα, ut  
videtur, primo pap., littera i infra lineam addita. 5 aut [σέ]. 8 fort. μί]α[ν] εὐγένη[α]ν, cf.  
hy. iv. 75 τὸν ἕνα δρόμον, Theocr. 17. 68 ἐν δὲ μῆτι τιμῇ. 9 δώροισ, cf. Varronem, ap. Pf. ad 10,  
accepta corona virgaque.

E. A. BARBER et P. MAAS.

OXONII

<sup>1</sup> Cf. supra p. 96, ubi in fr. 80. 19 pro σῇ φιλ]ῃν ἀρ[ετῇ] scribendum esse . . .]αφ[ι]ων ἀρ[τὸν] vidit  
Pfeiffer cl. Hesychio s.v. ἀρτύν.



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